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STUDIES IN KUCHEAN GRAMMAR I.

DECLENSION OF NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, AND PRONOUNS

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INTRODUCTION *

§ 1. The time would seem at hand to attempt an outline of the chief characteristics of Kuchean (= Tocharian B) [1] grammar, inasmuch as we have at last at our disposal a considerable amount of edited texts upon which we may rely with almost implicit faith, namely the *Tocharische Sprachreste, Sprache B. Heft 1, Die Udānālaṅkāra-Fragmente* of Professors E. Sieg and W. Siegling.[2] It hardly seems possible to await the publication of the remainder of the Berlin materials, considerable as they are,[3] before attempting to give the comparativist at least a temporary description of the other of the two related languages (or dialects as they have been rather misleadingly called). Considerable time will have to elapse even after the materials are all edited, before a complete analysis of them can be made on a par with the masterful *Tocharische Grammatik* of Sieg, Siegling, and Schulze.[4] And unless some previous (indeed, perhaps, premature) attempt, such as I propose

* The author wishes here to acknowledge his indebtedness to the American Philosophical Society for its generous grant of 1948-1949, which enabled him to pursue his Tocharian studies in Göttingen under the direction of Professor Emil Sieg. Without this support this study and similar studies which may follow would have been impossible.

[1] An attempt is made here to break with the American tradition of Tocharian B vs. Tocharian A. No attempt will be made to defend it except to cite as precedents the current British usage, from Hoernle on down, of Kuchean, and the universal French agreement on "Koutchéen." Furthermore, it is my understanding from conversation with Professor Sieg that he would have preferred "Kutschisch" in place of "Sprache B" in the title of the texts with which this article deals (cf. fn. 2, below), had it not been for the necessity of conformity with the title of the first volume of the *Tocharische Sprachreste* which contained the texts of Tocharian A. For the latter dialect this article proposes to use merely "Tocharian" which is again in line with British and French usage, and conforms to the use of "Tocharisch" in the case of the *Tocharische Grammatik* (below, fn. 4). There is, of course, a huge controversial literature on the subject. Cf. especially, Lévi, *Fragments de textes koutchéens*, pp. 1 ff.; A. J. van Windekens, *Lexique étymologique des dialectes tokhariens*, pp. xiv ff.; *Morphologie comparée du tokharien*, pp. ix ff.; W. Couvreur, *Hoofdzaken van de Tochaarse Klank- en Vormleer*, pp. 5 f.

[2] Cf. the review in *JAOS* 70. 130 ff.

[3] A brief account is to be found, op. cit., pp. 131 f.

[4] Göttingen, 1931.

here, is made, any approach to an understanding of the Kuchean language will remain a path fraught with almost insurmountable obstacles to anyone but the devotee. The earlier studies of Lévi and Meillet on Kuchean grammar [5] are, of course, now antiquated and, because of their pioneering nature, contain a considerable number of inaccuracies in reading and interpretation. A. J. van Windeken's *Morphologie comparée du tokharien* (Louvain, 1944) and, of course, H. Pedersen's important contribution *Tocharisch vom Gesichtspunkt der indoeuropäischen Sprachvergleichung* (Copenhagen, 1941) and his supplement *Zur tocharischen Sprachgeschichte* (1944) are not intended to give any systematic account of either dialect, and, of course, cannot refer to facts regarding Kuchean not available at the time of their publication. W. Couvreur's short monograph *Hoofdzaken van de Tochaarse Klank- en Vormleer* (Louvain, 1947) contains, due to the author's frequent access to Professor Sieg's "Zettelkasten" and his intimate personal relationship with the great Göttingen philologist, more facts about the forms of Kuchean than any other study, but here, too, there is no attempt at a systematic survey of the inflections of the language. Such are my reasons for attempting a series of studies of this sort at the present time.

I shall limit my materials practically completely to the text of the *Udānālaṅkāra-Fragmente* (cf. above) and to the forms from other texts cited in its glossary, even though these are (except for "Die Speisung des Bodhisattva," *Asia Major*, II, 277 ff.) from texts which are uncontrollable at the present time. Familiarity with Professor Sieg's work gives me the utmost confidence in their reliability. Only rarely have I cited forms from Sylvain Lévi, *Fragments de textes koutchéens* (Paris, 1933), or from J. Filliozat, *Fragments de textes koutchéens de médecine et de magie* (Paris, 1948),[6] not that I wish to belittle the work of the great Lévi or of his disciple, but because I want the basis of these grammatical studies to be as unimpeachable as possible from the point of view of reading and analysis. Such it seems to me are at the present time only those of Sieg and Siegling. Such a basis is absolutely necessary, not only to the interested scholar in general, but es-

[5] Cf. esp. *MSL* 18. 1 ff., 281 ff.; *Journal asiatique* 17 (1911), 431 ff., 18 (1911), 119 ff.

[6] Such forms are usually noted simply by (L) or (F) respectively.

pecially to me in my continuing study of the Hoernle Fragments with a view to their eventual publication. Furthermore, it is my hope that these studies, along with supplementary data, as it becomes available later, may contribute somewhat to our final analysis of the language and be of use to other scholars in editing the remaining Kuchean materials wherever they may be.

I. THE DECLENSION OF NOUNS

§ 2. Generalities. The inflection of the noun in Kuchean is surprisingly different from that in Tocharian (= Tocharian A). To be sure, the same general principles are followed allowing us to distinguish primary from secondary cases. To the former category belong in Kuchean the nominative, the vocative, the genitive (at least in part), and the oblique, the latter serving, as in Tocharian, for the accusative and as the base for the secondary cases, that is for the instrumental, the comitative, the casual, the dative, the ablative, and the locative. Noteworthy differences between Kuchean and Tocharian appear at once even in such a repartition. In Tocharian there is no special vocative, the nominative always sharing the vocative function in both sg. and pl. This is true in Kuchean only in the plural. In the singular we find in nouns a vocative ending in *-a*: *ṛṣāka* to *ṛṣāke* 'monk,' *waṣama* to *waṣamo* 'man,' *ñakta* to *ñäkte, ñakte* 'god,' etc. But the nom. may also serve as vocative as *pudñäkte* 'Buddha.' The voc. *po yśeñcai* (21b8) to *poyśi* is, of course, from the pres. pple. *aiśeñca* from *aik-* 'know.' Of the secondary cases, the so-called "*ā*-case" of Tocharian (Pedersen's "perlative"), a sort of combination of an instrumental and locative, is not found in Kuchean, but its absence is compensated for, as it were, by a "causal," characterized by a suffix *-ñ*, e. g. *läkleñ* 'through suffering' (*lakle*), *entseño*[7] 'out of envy' (*entse*), etc.

§ 3. The Secondary Endings. A survey of the Kuchean secondary endings is as follows, and for sake of comparison and contrast those of Tocharian are given in the second column:

	Kuchean		Tocharian
Instr.	*-sa*		*-yo*
Comit.	*-mpa*		*-aśśäl*
Caus.	*-ñ*	(ā-case)	*-ā*
Dat.	*-ś, -śc*		*-ac*
Abl.	*-meṃ*		*-äṣ*
Loc.	*-ne*		*-aṃ*

As in the Tocharian inflection there are certain general rules

[7] On the final *-o*, cf. below, § 3, end.

of sandhi regarding the union of suffix and the final sound of the oblique case,[8] but they are not nearly so complicated since the Kuchean suffixes all begin with consonants which makes union with a final vowel (the vast majority of instances) easy and direct, e. g. sg. *laklesa, laklempa,* pl. *läklentasa, läklentameṃ* to *lakle,* or *palskosa, palskoś,* etc. to *palsko.* After a consonant group, the insertion of *ä* (less usually *a*) is frequently found, especially in the comit., dat., and obl.; e. g. *akālkäś, ostaś, kaunäś,* dats. to *akālk, ost,* and *kauṃ; ostameṃ, koynameṃ* (beside *ostmeṃ, koynmeṃ*), *aścameṃ,* abls. to *ost, koyn, āśce* (obl. *āś, ăścä*); *klainämpa,* com. to *klyiye* (obl. *klaiñ, klai*).

It should be noted that almost any nominal, adjectival, or pronominal form ending in a consonant or diphthong may be augmented by the particle *-o* in metrical texts. The particle seems to have no particular value beyond a mere strengthening of the final consonant or consonant group. That it is old is shown by the fact that the dative ending, normally *-ś,* regularly appears in the fuller form *-śc* before it, and final *-au* > *owo.* In the discussions following, forms without *-o* are always cited if they occur; if only forms with *-o* occur, these are cited without comment.

§ 4. The Nominative Singular. Of the primary cases, little worth while seems to result from a discussion of the nominative, since its termination (final vowel or consonant) has little bearing upon the type of inflection to which the word belongs, though in some instances the formation (derivation, suffix, etc.) may be of significance in this regard. In the paradigmatic survey such matters are taken into account if thought of any importance.

§ 5. The Oblique Singular. The oblique singular may be like the nominative (and, in fact, predominantly is), or may show a special ending of which there are two: *-ṃ* (= *n* finally) and *-ai.* Of these the former is of the widest occurrence, and is regularly restricted to masculines and, of course, neuters (i. e. masc. sg., fem. pl.).[9] The latter is, in noun inflection, except for a few dubious occurrences, regularly feminine.

§ 6. The Genitive Singular. The ending of the genitive singular

[8] Cf. *SSS,* pp. 37 ff.

[9] I follow here the terminology established by *SSS* 33 and observed by Sieg for Kuchean in our present texts.

is for the vast number of words *-ntse* (*-ṃtse*), or, less usually, its variant *-tse*. I am unable to account in any way for the latter otherwise than as such—that is, a mere sporadic variant, since its use is in no way bound up with the form of the nominative. In fact, both endings frequently occur for the same word, e. g. *ypoyntse* and *ypoytse* to *ypoy, yapoy* 'land,' and many others.

The only other genitive sg. endings for nouns are *-i* (after vowel *-y*) and *-e*, but of very restricted use in our texts. The former is the regular ending (in native words) only of the nomina relationis in *-r*, e. g. *pātri, protri, mātri*, and, apparently by analogy with them, also of *soy* 'son' (nom.-obl.), gen. *seyi, śana* 'wife' (obl. *śano*), gen. *śnoy*, and of *lāntsa* 'queen' (obl. *lantso*), gen. *lāntsoy*. The latter is limited to three examples in our texts: *lānte*, gen. to *walo*, obl. *lānt* 'king,' *käryorttante* to *käryorttau* 'merchant,' *wetante* to *wetāᵘ* 'fighter' (cf. type IX).

The genitive ending in *-i* has been extended widely in Kuchean (as also in Tocharian) to Sanskrit proper names and names applying otherwise to persons; e. g. *Jātiśroṇi* to nom. *Jātiśroṇe, Devadatti* to *Devadatte, Viśvakarmi* to *Viśvakarme*, etc., or *brāhmaṇi* to *brāhmaṇe, yogācāri* to *yogācāre, sārthavāhi* to *sārthavāhe*, etc. Other Sanskrit loanwords generally take the regular *-ntse*: *cakkarntse* to *cākkär* (Skt. *cakra*), *saṃsārntse* to *saṃsār* (Skt. *saṃsāra*), *saṅkantse* to *sāṅk, sāṅ* (Skt. *saṅgha*), *mārgavārgäntse* to *mārgavārg* (Skt. *mārgavarga*!), *śramaṇavārgäntse* to *śramaṇavārg* (Skt. °*varga*!), and so do also a couple of proper names: *Citrentse* to *Citre, Maskalintse* to *Maskali*. Strange is the genitive in *-ñ* of four proper names: *Aranemiñ* to *Aranemi, Mṛgārañ* to *Mṛgāra*, and *Śāriñ* to *Śāri*, and no doubt *Jñātiṃ* to *Jñāti* is a mere variant final. Could this be the same as the causal *-ñ* (cf. above)?

The gen. sg. is here considered as a primary case, that is, not based upon the oblique. In most instances, however, the distinction is not significant, since the vast majority of words have the nom. and obl. sg. alike, or form the latter from the former by addition of *-ṃ* (= final *-n*), hence the genitive might be considered as made from the former type by adding *-ntse* to the oblique, and from the latter by adding simply *-tse*, e. g. nom.-obl. *lakle*, gen. *läklentse*, nom.-obl. *yāmor*, gen. *yāmorntse*, etc., versus nom. *käṣṣi*, obl. *käṣṣiṃ*, gen. *käṣṣintse, waṣamo*, obl. *waṣamoṃ*, gen. *wāṣmontse*; but the independence of the genitive from the oblique is clearly

shown in the instance of the majority of nouns with obl. sg. in *-ai* (VIII, a, 1 and 2): nom. *arṣāklo*, obl. *arṣāklai*, gen. *arṣāklantse*; *pyāpyo*, obl. *pyāpyai*, gen. *pyapyantse*. However, in the case of those nouns which abbreviate their nom. sg. in the obl. (VII c), there seems no way to avoid the conclusion that the genitive had become actually based in part on the oblique; e. g. nom. *kektseñe*, obl. *kektseñ*, gen. *kektseñtse*; nom. *rĭye*, obl. *ri*, gen. *rintse*, etc.; and so also in the nouns of relationship in *-r*: nom. *pācer*, obl. *pātär*, gen. *pātri*, etc. That such a feeling of relationship did obtain to a certain extent seems indicated also by such a gen. as *swañcaintse* from obl. *swāñcai*, nom. *swañciye* or *swāñco* 'beam, ray of light,' and perhaps also by *lwantse* beside obl. *luwa*, *lwā*, nom. *luwo* 'animal,' and by *śnoy* beside obl. *śano*, nom. *śana* 'wife.'

§ 7. The Formation of the Plural. The nominative plural endings belong to two groups according to whether or not they serve also as the oblique or are accompanied by a special oblique plural ending.

To the first category, group **A** (those which serve as both nom. and obl. plural without change), belong *-nta* (*-anta*, *-änta*), *-nma* (*-anma*), *-wa* (*-uwa*), *-a*, *-na* (*-ana*, *-auna*). To the second category, group **B**, belong the nom. pl. endings *-i*, *-ñ* (*-añ*, *-aiñ*), and *-añc*, all three of which have an accompanying obl. in *-ṃ* (*-äṃ*, *-aṃ*, *-aiṃ*, *-iṃ*, *-oṃ*).

The treatment of the stem final (based on the nom. sg. form) before the plural endings calls for a few comments. In general, the ending *-nta* is added directly: sg. nom. *lakle*, pl. *läklenta*; *palsko*, *pälsko*, *pälskonta*; *nrai*, *nrainta*; *yāmor*, *yāmornta*. The insertion of *-a* or *-ä* is, however, common after consonants: *war*, *wranta*; *akālk*, *akālkänta*; *pärkā*^{u}, *pärkāwänta*. Instead of *ä*, nom. pl. *amācinta* (beside obl. pl. *amācänta*) to *amāc*, shows the insertion of *i* (found also in the dat. sg. *amāciṃśco* from an obl. sg. **amāciṃ*). Obl. pl. *śalānta* to *śalna* (*śalla*, *śala*) shows an unexplained long vowel.

The simple *-nma* is found, for example, in *tmanenma* to *tmăne*, *tumane* '10,000,' *yältsenma* to *yaltse*, *yältse* '1,000,' *snūnma* to *sanu* 'danger' and perhaps in some other instances, but more usually we have the fuller *-anma* no matter what the nom. sg. stem final is: *śaulanma* to *śaul* 'life,' *telkanma* to *telki* 'offering,' *śwatsanma* to

śwātsi 'food,' *śänmānma* to *śanmau* (with loss of *-u* and lengthening of *-a*, cf. above *śalānta*).[10]

The ending *-wa* is usually added directly to the stem: *ostwa* to *ost* 'house,' etc., but the final vowel is dropped in *wäntare, wäntre* 'thing,' pl. *wäntarwa*, and *u* is inserted in *koynuwa* to sg. *koyn* [sic] 'mouth,' and in *säsuwa* beside *säswa* pl. to *soy* 'son.'

The simple ending *-na* is found in very few instances, e. g. *śāmna* to *śaumo* 'man,' *karākna* to *karak* 'branch,' *maiyyana* to *maiyya* 'strength' (but also *maiyyo*). Most usually the ending is extended to *-ana* or *-auna*, the former in *ṣarmana* to *ṣarm* 'cause,' *sarmana* to *sārm* 'seed,' the latter in *ypauna* to *ypoy* 'land,' *rekauna* to *reki* 'word,' etc. The sg. *ṣotri* 'sign' has pl. *ṣotrŭna*. The plurals *klaina* 'women' and *śnona* 'wives' would seem to be formed from the obl. sg. *klai* and *śano* (nom. *klyiye* and *śana*, cf. below § 17).

§ 8. Considerably more complicated is the treatment of the stem final before those plural endings which distinguish between nominative and oblique. These are best taken up according to their paradigmatic grouping.

Plurals with nom. *-i*, obl. *-ṃ*. The simplest are the nouns with nom. sg. in *-e* which is dropped in the nom. pl., but is resumed in the oblique with added *-ṃ*; e. g. *onolme* 'person,' pl. nom. *onolmi*, obl. *onolmeṃ*. These we may oppose to those nouns which end in a consonant in the nom. sg., or which drop their final *-e* in the obl. sg. These usually take *-äṃ*, less usually *-aṃ*, in the obl. pl.; e. g. *lyäk* 'thief,' obl. sg. *lykaṃ*, pl. nom. *lyśi*, obl. *lykäṃ*, *lyakäṃ*; *kektseñe* 'body,' obl. sg. *kektseñ*, pl. nom. *kektseñi*, obl. *kektseñän*. Nouns in *-ye* (which is dropped in the other cases) simply add *-ṃ* to the nom. pl. *-i*; e. g. *ścirye* 'star,' pl. *ściri, ściriṃ*.

This class is also most irregular in the palatalization of the final consonant or consonant group, as seen in *lyäk* 'thief' (above). Like *lyäk* are also *sāṃ* 'enemy,' sg. obl. *sanaṃ*, pl. nom. *sañi*, obl. *sanaṃ* and *sananäṃ*; *kauṃ* (nom.-obl.) 'day, sun,' pl. nom. *kauñi*, obl. *kauṃ* (for *kaunäṃ*?); *laks* 'fish,' pl. *läkṣi*, obl. *laksäṃ*; *yel* 'worm,' pl. nom. *yelyi, yeli*. The palatalization, however, is not limited to final consonants or consonant groups; cf. with nom. sg.

[10] The ending *-nma* is no doubt in origin metathesized from **-mna*, and therefore a variant of the plural formations in *-na*. This metathesis is usual in Kuchean. Cf. Pedersen, *Tocharisch*, pp. 72 f., for further historical conjectures.

in *-e, retke* 'army,' pl. nom. *recci, kokale* 'wagon,' pl. nom. *kokalyi*. Most remarkable is the type in palatal cons. + *-e* which drops the *-e* in the obl. sg. and which maintains its palatalization throughout, except in the obl. pl. (and secondary cases derived from it) where the unpalatalized consonant appears; e. g. *āśce* 'head,' sg. obl. *āś, āścä*, pl. nom. *aścī, aśśi*, obl. *ăstäṃ*; *plāce* 'speech,' sg. obl. *plāc*, pl. loc. *plātäṃne*; etc. This is opposed to the type of *kektseñe* (cf. above) or *meñe* 'moon, month,' which keeps the palatal also in the obl. pl. *kektseñän, meñäntsa* (inst.).

The plurals in nom. *-ñ*, obl. *-ṃ* with obl. sg. in *-ai* (VIII a) are divided into two groups: those in *-añ, -aṃ*, and those in *-aiñ, -aiṃ*. Whether there is any real connection between the *-ai-* of the latter endings and the sg. obl., I am not prepared to say. There is no clear distinction between the two types in the formation of the singular so far as I can tell for sure, unless we may deduce from the meager evidence that words in *-o* and *-ya* have the pl. in *-añ, -aṃ*, while those in *-yo* and *-(i)ye* have the plural in *-aiñ, -aiṃ*. For the evidence, cf. the paradigms (§ 23).

The second division of *-ñ, -ṃ* plurals, those with oblique sg. in *-ṃ* (VIII b, masculines, § 24), may, according to our evidence, add the plural endings directly to the nom. sg., as it were: *waṣamo, wăṣmo* 'friend,' pl. nom. *waṣamoñ*, gen. *wāṣmoṃts*; *saswe, säswe* 'master,' pl. nom. *säsweñ*. Like these appear to be the following three nouns (not attested in the singular): *passoñ* perh. 'muscles,' inst. *passontsa*; *yälloñ* 'sense functions,' obl. *yälloṃ*; *moliñ* perh. 'fights,' inst. *molintsa*. Other nouns of this group substitute *ā* or *a* for the *-e* of the nom. sg.: *aṣanĭke* 'arhat,' pl. nom. *(aṣani)kāñ*; *śamaśke, śamaśkañ* 'boy'; etc.

The few nouns with nom. pl. in *-ñc* and obl. in *-ntäṃ* (§ 25) are, of course, based on an old present participle inflection. The nom. *-ñc* is therefore the palatalized stem (i. e. from **-nt-es*) and is actually without ending. Whatever the history of the obl. pl. may be, it would seem that to the Kuchean "Sprachgefühl," we merely have the usual obl. ending *-ṃ* supported by the connecting vowel *ä* added to the unpalatalized stem.

§ 9. Genitive plural. The ending of the gen. pl. is regularly *-nts* (*-ṃts*) with its variant *-ts* (cf. the gen. sg. *-ntse*, var. *-tse*). It is regularly added to the obl. pl. There is no problem, therefore, with regard to its union with the final in the instance of type **A**

plural endings, i. e. those terminating in the vowel *-a* (Cl. I-IV); e. g. *waipecce* 'property,' pl. nom.-obl. *waipeccenta*, gen. *waipeccentaṃts*; *yāmor* 'deed,' pl. nom.-obl. *yāmornta*, gen. *yāmorntats*; *soy* 'son,' pl. nom.-obl. *säswa, säsuwa*, gen. *säswantso*; *stām* 'tree,' pl. nom.-obl. *stāna*, gen. *stanāṃts*; *cmel* 'birth,' nom.-obl. *cmela*, gen. *cmelats.*; *krentauna* (pl. only) 'virtues,' gen. *krentaunaṃts*; *śaumo* 'man,' pl. nom.-obl. *śāmna*, gen. *śāmnaṃts, śāmnats*; etc.

In type **B** (obl. pl. in *-ṃ*, Cl. VII-IX) in the vast majority of cases we may consider that the gen. pl. ending is simply *-ts* added to the obl. pl.; e. g. *onolme* 'creature, man,' pl. nom. *onolmi*, obl. *onolmeṃ*, gen. *onolmeṃts*; *sāṃ* 'enemy,' pl. nom. *sañi*, obl. *sanaṃ*, gen. *sanaṃts*; *ścirye* 'star,' pl. *ściri*, obl. *ściriṃ*, gen. *ściriṃts*; *arṣāklo* 'serpent,' pl. nom. **arṣāklañ*, obl. *arṣāklaṃ*, gen. *arṣāklaṃts*; *yälloñ* pl. only 'sense functions,' obl. *yälloṃ*, gen. *yälloṃts*. In some instances there is a difference of vowel, e. g. *-äṃ* in obl., *-aṃts* in gen.: *lyäk* 'thief,' pl. nom. *lyśi*, obl. *lykäṃ*, gen. *lykaṃts*; *walo* 'king,' pl. nom. *lāñc*, obl. *lāntäṃ*, gen. *laṃntaṃts* (L), and it would seem in a few occurrences that the ending *-ts*, where it occurs, is actually added to a sort of stem form independent of either the nom. or obl. pl., e. g. *wnolmets* beside *wnolmeṃts* (above), and similarly *ñäktets* beside *ñäkteṃts*, pl. obl. *ñakteṃ*, nom. *ñakti* to nom. sg. *ñäkte, ñakte* 'god.' Other aberrations are *kaunaṃts* beside pl. obl. *kauṃ* (for *kaunaṃ*?), nom. *kauñi*, nom. obl. sg. *kauṃ*, and *protärñts, tkātärts* gen. pl. of the words for 'brother' and 'daughter,' *procer* and *tkācer*, respectively, in contrast to *pātärntso* gen. pl. of *pācer* 'father.' Of the corresponding pl. noms. only *pātärñ* and *tkātärñ* are attested. The alternate pl. of *pācer*, nom.-obl. *păcera*, has also the gen. *paceraṃs* which would seem to be a mere spelling variant for *paceraṃts*. The pronunciation would perhaps be practically identical.

§10. The Dual. The characteristic du. nom.-obl. ending is *-ne*. In general, dual forms are found only for objects occurring in pairs, especially for parts of the body. The dual forms of *ek* n. 'eye,' *ṣar* m. 'hand,' and *ṣotri* n. 'sign' will illustrate all the extant forms.

Nom.-Obl.	*eśne, eśane*	*ṣarne, ṣärne*	
Gen.	*eśnaisäñ, eśanaisäñ*		
Inst.	*eśnesa, eśnesāk*		
Abl.			*ṣotrūnimeṃ*
Loc.	*eśanene* (F)	*ṣarnene*	

Other dual forms are: nom.-obl. *āntsne, aṃtsane* to *āntse* 'shoulder'; inst. *ālyinesa* to *ālyi* (obl. sg.) 'palm of the hand'; *pärwāne* (dual only) 'brows'; *paine, paiyne* to *paiyye* 'foot'; *pokaine* to *pokai* (obl. sg.) f. 'arm.' Aside from these parts of the body I have noted only *ṣotrūnimeṃ* (abl., cf. above) and *pwārine* to *pūwar, pwār* 'fire' in the fragmentary 9a7 *ku wī pwārine* [*k*]*l*(*utk*)*au* (*ra*)*m*[*t*] *wsaṣṣäṃ lklessu* ---/// which Professor Sieg translates "wie (= *ramt*) zwischen zwei Feuern befindlich liegt der Unglückliche," labeling *pwārine* as du. loc. in the glossary. The form is certainly dual but hardly locative (unless error for *pwārinene*). The initial *ku* is a mere final word fragment.

§ 11. In the paradigmatic survey which follows, the convention of the editors of the *Tocharische Sprachreste* with regard to the use of brackets and parentheses is observed; that is, brackets indicate uncertain readings, parentheses conjectures. However, for the sake of typographical simplicity the *ä* is used everywhere to indicate the (conjectured) "obscure vowel" whether written by the normal *akṣara* for consonant plus *a* with a superimposed double point, or by the special consonant signs with "inherent *ä*." In this I have the precedent of the *Tocharische Grammatik*.[11] For the same practical reason I have deviated from the use of a subscript letter with a superior connecting curved line to indicate a vowel (usually *u*) written in consonantal fashion, in favor of a simple superscript letter.

As regards the treatment of the vast number of Sanskrit loanwords, they have in general been omitted from the paradigms and word lists, except as they present peculiar problems of inflection or furnish case-forms not attested for Kuchean words.

The system of listing followed is, as has been suggested above, according to the formation of the plural (Roman numeral), with subdivisions according to other peculiarities of the singular or plural (Latin lower case letter), and frequently with further differentiation according to stem final, suffix, or the like (Arabic numeral). The two general divisions of plural endings, **A** and **B** (cf. above § 7), are also maintained in this survey.

The numbers of the sections (§§) have nothing to do with the paradigmatic arrangement, but are intended merely to facilitate cross reference.

[11] Introduction, p. 4.

A. *Nouns with Nominative and Oblique Plural the Same.*

§ 12. I a. Plurals with nom.-obl. in *-nta* and without special obl. ending in singular. The nom.-obl. sg. ends in *-e, -o, -ai* (once), *-a* (once), *-ā*^{u} (once), *-a* (*-or, -ar, -är*), *-l* (once), *-k* (*-lk*).

The gender, in so far as it is determinable, is chiefly neuter. Those which are masc. in the sg. or fem. in the pl. may, of course, actually be neuters (cf. above § 5).

1. Nouns in *-e*: *lakle* n. 'suffering,' *ñyātse, ñātse* 'danger,' *śŭke* sg. m. 'taste, juice' (= Skt. *rasa*).

		Singular	
Nom.	*lakle*	*ñyātse, ñātse*	*śŭke*
Obl.	*lakle*		*śŭke*
Gen.	*läklentse*		
Inst.	*laklesa*		
Com.	*laklempa*		
Caus.	*läkleñ*		
Abl.	*läklemeṃ*		*śukemeṃ*
Loc.		*ñyātsene*	*śŭkene*
		Plural	
Nom.	*läklenta, lklenta*	*ñatstsenta*	
Obl.	*läklenta, lklenta*	*ñatstsenta*	
Gen.			*śukentaṃts*
Inst.	*läklentasa*		
Abl.	*läklentameṃ*		
Loc.		*ñyatsentane*	

On the evidence of the obl. sg. or of the secondary sg. cases, the following are similarly inflected: *āke* 'end,' pl. inst. *akentasa*; *ĭke, yke* n. 'position, step,' abl. *ikemeṃ*, loc. *ykene*, pl. *ykenta*; *ekñe* (*ekaññe, ekñiññe, ekaññiññe*) n. 'property,' inst. *ekñesa*, pl. *ekñenta* (*ekñiññenta*), inst. *ekñentasa*; *erkatñe* 'vexation,' pl. *erkatñenta*; *aiwe* 'shelter (?),' pl. *aiwenta*; *aiśamñe* n. 'knowledge,' inst. *aiśamñesa*, pl. *aiśamñenta*; *kärtsauñe* sg. m. 'good deed,' pl. *kärtstsomñenta* [sic] (Sp.); *cake, cke* n. 'river,' gen. *ckentse* (Sp.), pl. *ckenta*, abl. *ckentameṃ*; *naumiye, naumye* n. 'jewel,' pl. *naumiyenta, naumyenta*, loc. *naumyentane*; *papāṣṣorñe* n. 'observance,' pl. loc. *papāṣṣorñentane*; *pīle* sg. m. 'wound,' loc. *pīlene*, pl. *pilenta*; *ykorñe* 'negligence,' inst. *ykorñesa*, pl. *ykorñenta*; *ynāñmāññe, ynāñmñe* 'esteem,' inst. *ynāñmñesa*, pl. loc. *ynāñmāññentane*; *waipecce* n. 'property,' inst. *waipeccesa*, loc. *waipeccene*, pl. *waipeccenta*, gen. *waipeccentaṃts*; *ṣalype* sg. m. (obl. *ṣalywe*

Sp. 3), pl. *ṣälypenta*, inst. *ṣälypentasa*; *tsnamñe* 'river, flowing' (Buddh. term. techn. = Skt. *āsrava* 'influence of external world'), pl. *tsnamñenta*.

In this category belong also the numerous verbal nouns in *-lñe* (*-lyñe*). Plural forms are, of course, rare, and even the secondary case forms of the singular are not too plentiful. The following will suffice to establish the inflection, however: *eṅkalñe* (: *eṅk-* 'grasp, hold'), pl. *eṅkalñenta*, gen. *eṅkalñentaṃts*; *tättālñe*, *t^{ä}ttālñe* (: *tätt-* 'put, place'), pl. gen. *tättālñentaṃts*; *triśalñe* (: *trik-* 'make a misstep'), sg. inst. *triśalñesa*; *nuwalñe* (*nu-* 'bellow'), sg. inst. *nwalñesa*; *pälyśalñe* (*pälk-* 'be hot'), sg. loc. *pilycalñene* [sic] (Sp.); *palskalñe* (: *pälsk-* 'think'), pl. *palskalñenta*, gen. *palskalñentaṃts*; *rilñe* (*ri-* 'abandon, leave'), sg. abl. *rilñememeṃ*; *welñe*, *welyñe* (*we-*, *weñ*, 'speak'), sg. gen. *welñentse*. There are further examples of the same case forms from other verbal nouns. The only deviation which I have discovered from this inflection is the alternate masc. nom. pl. *palskalñi* beside the usual formation *palskalñenta* (fem. pl.) cited above.

2. Nouns in *-o*, *-a*, *-ai*, *-ā^{u}*: *palsko*, *pälsko* n. 'mind, thought,' *oko* n. 'fruit,' *śalna* (*śalla*, *śala*) 'quarrel,' *nrai* n. 'hell' (< Skt. *niraya*), *pärkā^{u}* 'advantage.'

		Singular		
Nom.	*palsko, pälsko*	*oko*	*śalna*	*nrai*
Obl.	*palsko, pälsko*	*pärkā^{u}*	*śalna*	*nrai*
Gen.	*pälskontse*			*nraintse*
Inst.	*palskosa, pälskosa*	*okosa*		*nraisa*
Dat.	*palskoś*			
Abl.	*pälskomeṃ*			
Loc.	*palskone, pälskone*	*okone*		*nraine*
		Plural		
Nom.	*pälskonta*	*okonta*	*pärkāwänta*	*nrainta*
Obl.	*pälskonta*	*okonta*	*śalānta*	*nrainta*
Loc.				*nraintane*

Like *palsko*, *oko* also *traṅko*, *träṅko* 'sin,' pl. *träṅkonta*; *pilko* sg. m. 'glance, look,' pl. *pilkonta*; *yarpo*, *yärpo* 'merit,' pl. *yärponta*.

3. Nouns in *-r*: *yāmor* n. 'deed; Skt. *karman*,' *ācār* 'right conduct' (< Skt. *ācāra*), *samudtär* n. 'ocean' (< Skt. *samudra*), *war* n. 'water.'

		Singular		
Nom.	*yāmor*	*ācār*	*samudtär*	*war*
Obl.	*yāmor, yamor*	*ācār*	*samudtär*	*war*
Gen.	*yāmorntse*			*wrantse*
Inst.	*yāmorsa*			
Com.			*samudrämpa*	
Dat.			*samudtärśc*	*warś*
Loc.		*ācārne*	*samudtärne*	*warne*
		Plural		
Nom.	*yāmornta*		*samudtärnta*	*wranta*
Obl.	*yāmornta*	*[ā]cārä[nta]*		*wranta*
Gen.	*yāmorntats*		*(sa)mudtärntaṃts*	

Like *yāmor* also *āyor* n. 'gift,' and the other verbal derivatives in *-or*, e. g. *kätkor* 'passage,' to *kätk-* 'pass over,' *käskor* 'gossip' to *käsk-* 'confuse,' *yaitkor* 'command' to *wätk-*, etc.[12]

4. Nouns in *-l*, *-k*: *kuśalamūl* 'healing root' (< Skt. *kuśalamūla*), *amok* 'art, skill' (Iran. lwd.), *akālk*, sg. m. 'wish.'

		Singular	
Nom.	*kuśalamūl*	*amok*	*akālk*
Obl.	*kuśalamūl*	*amok*	*akālk*
Gen.	*kᵘśalamūltse*		
Inst.		*amoksa*	*akālksa*
Dat.			*akālkäś*
		Plural	
Nom.	*(kuśala)[m]ūlnta*	*amo[kä](nta)*	
Obl.			*akālkänta*
Gen.	*ku(śa)lamūlntats*		

5. A special group is formed by *pratiṃ* pl. f. 'decision,' *bhājaṃ* m. 'vessel, pot' (< Skt. *bhājana-*), and *lakṣäṃ* 'mark, sign' (< Skt. *lakṣaṇa-*). These add only *-ta* to form the plural: sg. com. *bhājaṃmpa*, loc. *pratiṃne*, pl. *pratinta, bhājanta, lakṣānta.*

§ 13. I b. Plurals with nom.-obl. in *-nta* and with special obl. sg. in *-ṃ*. Here definitely belong four words, all masculine: *käṣṣĭ* 'teacher,' *poyśi* 'omniscient' = Buddha (from *po-aiśi*), *mñcuṣke* (*mäñcuṣke, miñcuṣke*) 'prince, youth,' *amāc* 'minister' (< Skt. *amātya*).

[12] The so-called absolutives are merely stereotyped case forms of this verbal noun. Most usual is the ablative, e. g. *ārskormeṃ* 'having finished' (*ārsk-*, caus. to *ar-* 'cease'), *eṅkormeṃ* 'having seized,' *kärsormeṃ* 'having recognized,' etc., but the instrumental is also found, e. g. *nenkorsa* (to *näk-* 'disappear') which Sieg at IIbl translates "zu [deren] Verschwinden."

		Singular		
Nom.	*käṣṣĕ*	*poyśi*	*mñcuṣke*	*amāc*
Obl.	*käṣṣiṃ*	*poyśiṃ*	*mñcuṣkeṃ*	
Gen.	*kä(ṣṣi)[n]tse*	*poyśintse*	*mñcuṣkentse*	
Inst.	*käṣṣintsa*	*poyśiṃś*		
Dat.	*käṣṣiṃścä*			*amāciṃśco*
Voc.		*poyśeñcai* (cf. above § 2)		
		Plural		
Nom.	*käṣṣinta*	*poyśinta*	*mcuṣkanta* (sic)	*amācinta*
Obl.				*amācänta*
Gen.	*(kä)ṣ(ṣi)[ntaṃ]ts*	*poyśintats*		

It is, of course, impossible to tell whether a number of words with plural in *-nta* belong to I a (*lakle* type), or I b (*käṣṣi type*), since neither the obl. sg. nor any of the secondary cases formed on it are attested. Of these the following plural forms are attested: *akappi* 'uncleanliness, filth,' pl. nom. *akappinta*; *ore* 'dust,' pl. *wrenta* (Sp.); *kāko* sg. m. 'invitation,' pl. (nom. ?) *kakonta*; *pwenta* pl. f. 'spokes'; *ṣiko* 'step,' pl. obl. *ṣikonta.*

§ 14. II. Plurals with nom.-obl. in *-nma.* So far as I can determine all have the nom. and obl. sg. alike also. Only a few secondary case forms are attested. For variety of ending in nom.-obl. sg. we list in paradigmatic form *śaul* n. 'life,' *sak, sakw* m. and n. 'happiness,' *sanu* 'danger,' *śanmau* 'bond, fetter,' *śwātsi* 'food' (sb. inf. to *śu-* 'eat').

		Singular			
Nom.	*śaul*	*sak, sakw*	*sanu*	*śanmau*	*śwātsi*
Obl.	*śaul*	*sak, sakw*			
Gen.	*śaulantse*				*śwātsintse*
Inst.	*śaultsa*	*saksa*			
Com.	*śaulmpa*				
Loc.	*śaulne*		*sanune*		
		Plural			
Nom.	*śaulanma*	*skwanma*	*snūnma*	*śänmānma*	*śwatsanma*
Obl.	*śaulanma*	*skwanma*			
Inst.	*śaulanmasa*				

Like *sak, sakw* also *pat* n. 'stupa,' pl. *ptanma, sklok* sg. m. 'doubt, care,' pl. *skloka[n](ma).* Like *śwātsi, teki* sg. m. 'disease,' pl. *tekanma, telki* 'sacrifice,' pl. *(te)lkanma, wāki* f. 'difference,' pl. *(wā)[ka]nma,* and the other substantivized infinitives: *yoktsi* 'drink,' sg. gen. *yoktsintse,* pl. *yoktsanma,* and *wastsi,*

wästsi, wassi, wässi 'clothes, garment,' pl. *wässanma.* Here also the numerals *yaltse, yältse* '1,000,' pl. *[y](ä)ltsenma,* and *tmăne, tumane* '10,000,' pl. *tmanenma.* The singular of the pl. *erkenma* 'boneyard' is not attested (perh. dat. pl. *e(r)k(e)nma(ś)* 3 b 6?). The pl. of *empreṃ* 'truth' (also adj. 'true') is *emprenma* (cf. the analogous *pratiṃ,* pl. *pratinta,* above, § 12, I a 5).

Here too belongs apparently the infinitive, though, except for the substantivized *śwātsi, yoktsi,* and *wastsi* (above), I find no plural forms, and forms of the singular, other than the dative, are rare. The dative infinitive in *-ś* or *-śco* is extremely frequent, of course, in the sense 'in order to,' e. g. *āltsiś* to *al-* 'ward off,' *ertsiś* to *er-* 'produce,' *cmetsiś, cmetsiśco* to *täm-* 'be born,' etc. Of other cases I find only instrumentals *mentsisa* to *ments-, mants-* 'be sad,' *wiśsisa* to *wik-* 'avoid,' *śaitsisa* to *śai-* 'live,' and the locative *nestsine* to *nes-* 'be.'

§15. III. Plurals with nom.-obl. in *-wa* (*-uwa*) and without special obl. sg. ending. The gender in so far as determinable is regularly neuter (i. e. sg. masc., pl. fem.), except for *soy* 'son' (cf. below). One word abbreviates the nom. sg. stem before the plural ending *-wa,* namely *wäntare, wäntre* 'thing' which drops the *-e.* Examples: *ost* n. 'house,' *eṅkäl* 'passion,' *koyn* n. 'mouth,' *wäntare, wäntre* n. 'thing.'

	Singular			
Nom.	*ost*	*eṅkäl*	*koyn*	*wäntare, wäntre*
Obl.	*ost*	*eṅkäl*	*koyn*	*wäntre*
Gen.		*eṅkalntse*		
Inst.		*eṅkältsa*		
Dat.	*ostaś, ostä(ś)c(o)*			
Abl.	*ostmeṃ, ostameṃ*		*koynmeṃ, koynameṃ*	
Loc.	*ostne*			
	Plural			
Nom.	*ostwa*	*eṅkalwa*	*koynuwa*	*wäntarwa*
Obl.	*ostwa*	*eṅkalwa*	*koynuwa*	*wäntarwa*
Inst.	*ostwasa*			
Dat.	*ostwaśco*			
Abl.				*wäntarwameṃ*
Loc.	*ostwane*			

Similarly *treṅkäl* sg. m. 'adherence, clinging to,' pl. *treṅkalwa*; *kwärsar, kursar* a measure of distance, pl. *kwärsarwa, kursarwa*; *lyakur* pl. f. 'time, occurrence' (Germ. 'Mal'), pl. *lykwarwa, lkwarwa*; *tarstwa* pl. only, perh. 'doubt,' inst. *tarstwasa.*

A special case is that of *soy* (nom.-obl.) m. 'son' gen. *seyi*, inst. *soysa*, pl. nom.-obl. *säswa, säsuwa, s^{ä}sŭwa*, gen. *säswantso*, com. *säswampa*. The gen. sg. in *-i* is possibly due to the analogy of the nouns of relationship in *-r*, cf. below.

§ 16. IV. Plurals with nom.-obl. in *-a*. Here again the gender seems to be regularly neuter. Without exception the nom. and obl. singular are the same and end in a consonant (esp. *-l* or *-r*). Examples: *cmel, camel* n. 'birth, descent' (: *täm-* 'be born'), *pūwar, pwār* n. 'fire,' *pikul* 'year,' *stām* 'tree.'

	Singular			
Nom.	*cmel, camel*	*pūwar, pwār*	*pikul*	*stām*
Obl.	*cmel, camel*	*pūwar, pwār*	*pikul*	*stām*
Gen.				*stāmantse*
Inst.		*pūwarsa, pwārsa*		
Loc.	*cmelne, camelne*			
	Plural			
Nom.	*cmela*	*pwāra*	*pik^{u}la, pikwala, pikla*	*stāna*
Obl.	*cmela*			
Gen.	*cmelats*			*stanāṃts*
Inst.	*cmelasa*			
Abl.	*cmelameṃ*		*pik^{u}lameṃ*	
Loc.	*cmelane*	*pwārane*		

Similarly *yasar* sg. m. 'blood,' pl. *ysāra, ṣñor* 'sinew,' pl. *ṣñaura*, and the two pls. *āsta* 'bones' (sg. *āy*), gen. *ăstāntso*, and *mĭsa* f. 'meat,' gen. *misāṃts*, inst. *mīsasa*.

The pl. of *stām* 'tree,' *stāna* (cf. the paradigm above), presents an anomaly with its change *m-n* between singular and plural. It was possibly originally a plural in *-na* (below), i. e. **stāmna*.

Similarly special reference must be made to *luwo* m. and n. 'animal' with obl. sg. *luwa*, and *lwā*, gen. *lwantse*, abl. *lwāmeṃ*. In the plural an old stem final in *-s* appears before the ending: nom.-obl. *lwāsa*, gen. *lwasāntso*.

§ 17. V. Nouns of relationship in *-r* with pl. in *-a* or *-ñ*. The latter plural formation is attested for *pācer* m. 'father,' *procer* m. 'brother,' and *tkācer* f. 'daughter,' but not for *mācer* f. 'mother' nor *ṣer* f. 'sister.'

	Singular				
Nom.	*pācer*	*procer*	*tkācer*	*mācer*	*ṣer*
Obl.	*pātär*	*protär*	*tkāträ*	*mātär*	
Gen.	*pātri*	*protri*		*mātri*	

	Plural (1)				
Nom.	*pă̆cera*	*procera*	*tkacera*	*mācera*	*ṣera*
Obl.	*pă̆cera*	*procera*	*tkacera*	*mācera*	*ṣera*
Gen.	*paceraṃs*				

	Plural (2)		
Nom.	*pātärñ*		*tkātärñ*
Gen.	*pātärntso*	*protärñts*	*tkātärts*

No oblique forms are attested for the nom. pl. in *-ñ*. We expect, of course, the ending *-ṃ* (as below, § 23).

§ 18. VI. Plurals with nom.-obl. in *-na* (*-ana, -auna, -ona, -ŭna*). A variety of formations of all genders must be listed here. As usual, where possible, we shall divide them into two groups, (a) those without, and (b) those with special oblique singular.

VI a. In the first category we list *maiyya, maiyyo* f. 'strength,' *mañiya, māñya* f. 'slave,' and *ṣarm* n. 'cause,' with pl. in *-ana*, and *ypoy, yapoy* n. 'land,' *reki* n. 'word, speech,' and *krentauna* f. (pl. only) 'virtues,' with pl. in *-auna*.

	Singular				
Nom.	*maiyya, maiyyo*	*mañiya, māñya*	*ṣarm*	*ypoy, yapoy*	*reki*
Obl.	*maiyya*				
Gen.				*ypoyntse, ypoytse*	
Inst.			*ṣarmtsa*		*rekisa*
Abl.	*maiyyāmeṃ*			*ypoymeṃ*	*rekimeṃ*
Loc.	*maiyyane*			*ypoyne, yapoyne*	

	Plural			
Nom.	*(mai)yyana*	*ṣarmana*	*ypauna*	*rekauna*
Obl.		*ṣarmana*	*ypauna*	*rekauna*
Gen.	*mañyanats*			*krentaunaṃts*
Inst.		*ṣärmnasa*		*rekaunasa*
Com.				*krentaunampa*
Dat.				*krentaunaś*
Abl.	*mañyanameṃ*			*krentaunameṃ*
Loc.		*(ṣa)rmanane*	*ypaunane*	

On the analogy of the above would seem to be inflected *sārm* pl. f. 'seed,' pl. *sarmana*, dat. *sārmnaś* (like *ṣarm*), and *palauna* pl. only 'praise.'

§ 19. VI b. Even more heteroclitic are the plurals in *-na* which show special obl. sg. forms. Masc. and fem. genders are represented. We list: *śaumo* m. 'man,' *śana* f. 'woman, wife,' *mñcuṣka* f. 'princess' (beside *mñcuṣke* m. 'prince,' above § 13), and *klyiye, klīye* f. 'woman.'

		Singular		
Nom.	*śaumo*	*klyiye, klīye*	*śana*	*mñcuṣka*
Obl.	*śaumono*	*klaiñ, klai*	*śano*	*mñcuṣkai*
Gen.	*śaumontse*		*śnoy*	
Com.		*klainämpa*		
Dat.			*śa[n]ośco*	
		Plural		
Nom.	*śāmna*	*klaina*	*śnona*	*mñcuṣkāna*
Obl.	*śāmna*	*klaina*	*śnona*	*mñcuṣkāna*
Gen.	*śāmnaṃts, śāmnats*	*klainaṃts*		
Dat.	*śāmnaś*			
Abl.	*śāmnāmeṃ* (L)			
Loc.	*śāmnane*			

Like *mñcuṣka* apparently *śamñāṃśka* f. 'girl,' obl. *śamñāṃśkai*, gen. *śamñāṃśkantse*, pl. *śamnāṃṣkana* (sic!).

The remainder of these plurals we list alphabetically. Whether they belong to (a) or (b) is not to be decided: *ersna* f. (pl. only) 'form,' gen. *ersnaṃts*; *karak* 'branch, limb,' pl. *karākna*; *lāṃs* f. 'service, performance,' pl. *laṃsūna*; *ṣerśka* f. dim. to *ṣer* 'sister' (prob. obl. sg. *ṣerśkai*, like *mñcuṣka* above?), *ṣotri* n. 'sign, mark,' pl. *ṣotrŭna*, inst. *ṣotrunasa*, dual abl. *ṣotrūnimeṃ*.

B. *Nouns with Nominative and Oblique Plural Differentiated.*

§ 20. VII. Plurals with nom. *-i*, obl. *-ṃ*. There are many subdivisions of this formation.

VII a. First we present those with sg. nom. in *-e*, obl. the same or with added *-ṃ*, pl. nom. *-i*, obl. *-eṃ*. In so far as gender can be determined these are all masculines. Best represented is *onolme, wnolme* m. 'creature, man' with both types of sg. obl., *āntse* m. 'shoulder, limb' (sg. nom.-obl. the same), and with sg. obl. in *-ṃ*, *rṣāke* m. 'seer, saint' (< Skt. *ṛṣi* with added suffix), *ṣamāne* m. 'monk' (< Skt. *śramaṇa*).

		Singular		
Nom.	*onolme, wnolme*	*āntse*	*rṣāke*	*ṣamāne*
Obl.	*onolme, onolmeṃ*		*rṣākeṃ*	*ṣamāneṃ*
Gen.	*wnolmentse*		*rṣākentse*	*ṣamānentse*
Com.		*kraupempa*		
Dat.				*ṣamāneṃśco*
Abl.		*āntsemeṃ*		
Loc.	*wnolmene*	*kraupene*		
Voc.			*rṣāka*	

		Plural		
Nom.	*onolmi, wnolmi*	*āntsi*	*rṣāki*	*ṣamāni*
Obl.	*onolmeṃ, wnolmeṃ*	*āntseṃ*	*rṣākeṃ*	*ṣamāneṃ*
Gen.	*onolmeṃts, wnolmets*			*ṣamāneṃts, -ets*
Inst.	*wnolmentsa*	*āntsentsa*		
Abl.	*wnolmeṃmeṃ*			*ṣamānenmeṃ*
Loc.			*rṣākeṃne*	
Voc. = Nom.				*ṣamāni*
		Dual		
Nom.-obl.		*āntsne, aṃtsane*		

Like *āntse, kraupe* m. 'flock, troop,' pl. *kraupi,* obl. *kraupeṃ* (secondary cases sg. entered above), and *ṣale, ṣle* sg. m. 'mountain,' gen. *ṣlentse,* inst. *ṣalesa,* pl. *ṣali*; like *rṣāke* also *upāsake* 'lay-brother' (< Skt. *upāsaka*), *Yǎkṣe* 'a spirit, a *Yakṣa*' (< Skt. *Yakṣa*).

Here sometimes also *pelaikne* 'law, dharma,' sg. gen. *pelaiknentse,* inst. *pelaiknesa,* pl. *pelaikni,* but more usually neuter with pl. *pelaiknenta* (loc. *pelaiknentane*) (type I a, 1, above, § 12).

Due to the lack of either an obl. sg. or any secondary case derived from it we are left with a number of words which cannot be definitely placed in either group: *etre* m. 'hero,' pl. *etri*; *kattāke* m. 'house-master,' pl. *kattāki,* obl. *kattākeṃ,* gen. *-kets,* com. *-keṃmpa,* (poss. like *rṣāke*); *ñäkte, ñakte* 'god,' sg. gen. *ñäktentse,* voc. *ñakta,* pl. nom. *ñakti,* obl. *ñakteṃ,* gen. *ñäkteṃts, ñäktets,* com. *ñakteṃmpa*; *kamartike* m. 'lord, master,' pl. nom. *kamartiki*; *taiwe* 'ripe fruit,' pl. nom. *taiwi*; *tremi,* pl. only 'anger,' obl. *tremeṃ,* gen. *tremeṃts,* caus. *tremeṃñ*; *twere* m. 'door,' pl. nom. *tweri*; *meli* pl. only 'nose,' inst. *melentsa* (*-ṃtsa, -ṃntsa*); *meske* m. 'connection, joint,' pl. nom. *meski*; *ypoye* 'native of the land' (*ypoy*),pl. nom. *ypoyi*; *yśelme* m. 'greed, lust,' pl. nom. *yśelmi* (*-my*); *skeye* 'effort,' pl. nom. *skeyi,* obl. *skeyeṃ*; *riṣṣe* 'city dweller' (from *rǐye* 'city'), pl. nom. *riṣṣi.*

Even more uncertain of classification are the following of which no nom. pl. is attested, but only the oblique in *-ṃ* or some case derived from it. In such instances we may as well be dealing with plurals in nom. *-ñ,* obl. *-ṃ* (below VIII b, type of *saswe,* § 24), unless singular forms are attested which will vouch for an obl. sg. without ending, in which case the nouns belong here as the type with nom.-obl. sg. alike, since all such plurals in *-ñ, -ṃ* have an obl. sg. either in *-ṃ* or in *-ai* (if fem.). On the basis of such a

deduction here belong then (type *āntse, kraupe*) : *śaiṣṣe* m. 'world, people,' gen. *śaiṣṣentse,* inst. *śaiṣṣesa,* etc., pl. gen. *śaiṣṣentso*; *klautke* m. 'manner,' inst. *klautkesa,* pl. obl. *klautkeṃ,* inst. *klautkentsa*; *yakne, yäkne* m. 'way, sort,' inst. *yaknesa, yäknesa,* pl. inst. *yakneṃtsa*; *pratyaikapudñäkte* m. 'Pratyekabuddha,' dat. *-ñäkteś,* pl. obl. *-ñäkteṃ.*

The following, however, without obl. sg. and without nom. pl. are quite ambiguous. They may belong here or in VIII b equally well: *kerketse* m. 'fetter,' pl. obl. *kerketse(ṃ)*; *preke* m. 'time,' pl. obl. *prekeṃ*; *prete* 'hunger spirit' (< Skt. *preta*), pl. abl. *pretenmeṃ,* loc. *preteṃne* (*-nne*); *mañiye, mäñye* m. 'servant, slave,' pl. obl. *mäñyeṃ*; *yetwe* m. 'ornament,' pl. obl. *yetweṃ*; *wepe* perh. 'inclosure,' pl. dat. *wepeṃś*; *ṣertwe* 'instigation,' pl. inst. *ṣertwentsa*; *traike* 'error, confusion,' pl. inst. *traikentsa*; *tsaiñe, -ññe* 'ornament,' pl. inst. *tsaiñentsa.*

§ 21. VII b. As a second type of the same inflection it seems best to distinguish those nouns which present a palatalized consonant (or consonant group) before the *-i* of the nominative plural. These again, like the group above, are masculine, and are opposed to the former in that they end in a consonant in the nom.-obl. sg. (except for two words ending in *-e* as those above). The palatalization does not occur before the oblique pl. ending in so far as the evidence goes. As was the case with the former type, here too we find both presence and absence of a special oblique sg. in *-ṃ.* Examples: *lyäk, lyak* 'thief,' *sāṃ* m. 'enemy,' *kauṃ, kaum* m. 'day, sun'; *retke* 'army.'

		Singular		
Nom.	*lyäk*	*sāṃ*	*kauṃ, kaum*	*retke*
Obl.	*lykaṃ*	*sanaṃ*	*kauṃ*	
Gen.			*kaunantse, kauntse*	
Inst.			*kauntsa*	
Com.				*retkempa*
Dat.			*kaunäś*	
		Plural		
Nom.	*lyśi*	*sañi*	*kauñi*	*recci*
Obl.	*lykäṃ, lyakäṃ*	*sanaṃ, sananäṃ*	*kauṃ* (for *kaunäṃ*?)	
Gen.	*lykaṃts*	*sanaṃts*	*kaunaṃts*	
Inst.			*kauntsa*	

Here also *laks* 'fish,' pl. nom. *läkṣi,* obl. *laksäṃ*; *yel* m. 'worm,' pl. nom. *yelyi* and *yeli* (without written palatal); and, in *-e, kokale* m. 'wagon,' sg. gen. *kokalentse, koklentse,* pl. nom. *kokalyi.*

Whether or not the pl. nom. bahuvrīhi *śtwer-märkwaci* 'having four legs' (11b1) is to be listed here, I am not sure.

§ 22. VII c. As a third type of this plural formation we list those nouns which end in *-e* in the nom. sg. and lose it in the obl. Several of these are further peculiar in that they present palatalized consonant groups before the endings in the singular and in the nom. pl., but show the unpalatalized form in the obl. pl. Several nouns end in *-(i)ye* in the nom. sg. and abbreviate to *-i* in the obl. In so far as the evidence goes, all but two are feminine. Examples of various types: *āśce* f. 'head,' *kektseñe* f. 'body,' *meñe* m. 'moon, month,' *rĭ̈ye* f. 'city,' *ścirye* pl. f. 'star.'

Singular

Nom.	*āśce*	*kektseñe*	*meñe*	*rĭ̈ye*	*ścirye*
Obl.	*āś, ăścä*	*kektseñ*	*meñ*	*ri*	
Gen.		*kektseñtse*	*meñantse*	*rintse*	
Inst.	*ăṣtsa, āṣsa*	*kektsentsa*			
Dat.				*riś*	
Abl.	*aścameṃ*	*kektseñmeṃ*		*rĭ̈meṃ*	
Loc.	*āśne*	*kektseṃne, -nne*		*rĭ̈ne*	

Plural

Nom.	*aścī, aśśi*	*kektseñi*	*meñi*		*ściri*
Obl.	*ăstäṃ*	*kektseñän*			*ścirĭ̈ṃ*
Gen.			*meñats*		*ścirĭ̈nts*
Inst.	*ăstäntsa*		*meñäntsa*		
Abl.	*klokastanmeṃ*				
Loc.				*rĭ̈ṃne, rinne*	

Like *āsce* also *klokaśce* 'pore,' sg. loc. *klokaśne*, pl. nom. *klokaśśi* (abl. entered above), and *plāce* f. 'speech,' sg. obl. *plāc*, inst. *plācsa*, pl. loc. *plātäṃne*; like *kektseñe* apparently *kärweñe* 'rock,' sg. obl. *kärweñ*, pl. nom. *kärweñi*; like *meñe* prob. also *arañce* m. 'heart,' sg. obl. *arañc*, dat. *arañcäś*, loc. *arañcne*, but no plural forms attested, and similarly *ăñme* 'self,' sg. obl. *añm, āñmo*, gen. *añmantse*, inst. *āñmtsa*, and *lāñe* perh. 'flood,' sg. inst. *lānsa*. *Ścirye* 'star' is actually the only noun of its type for which the pl. nom. in *-i* is found or cited in our text or glossary; therefore the inclusion of *rĭ̈ye* 'city' (above) and *kälymiye* f. 'direction,' sg. inst. *kalymisa*, dat. *kalymiś*, pl. obl. *kälymiṃ*, inst. *kälymintsa*, or *ytārye* f. 'road, way,' sg. obl. *ytāri*, gen. *ytārintse*, inst. *ytārisa*, pl. obl. *ytariṃ*, loc. *ytarinne*, rests on the conclusion from the analogy of the pattern that the pl. nom. would actually be **ri*, **kälymi* and **ytări*. This

is, of course, by no means absolutely certain. Of the similar *akalye* 'study, exercise' and *yṣĭye* f. 'night' only the sg. obl. *āklyi, ākli* and *yaṣi, yṣi, īṣi* are cited. I am also inclined to place two other words here, viz. *maune* 'confusion,' sg. obl. *mauṃ* but without attested pl. forms, and *yente* f. 'wind,' pl. nom. *yenti*, obl. *yenteṃ*, gen. *yentets*. Aside from the lack of singular forms, the latter word does not fit the pattern of final palatalization of any of the other *-i*-plurals cited above. Finally, what to do with *ke*^{u} 'cow,' pl. obl. *kewän*, I am not at all sure.

§ 23. VIII a. Plurals with nom. *-ñ*, obl. *-ṃ*, and obl. sg. in *-ai*. The nominative singular ends mostly in *-o*, but also in *-ya* and *-ye* (with a frequent variant in *-yo*). Except for two masculines (which may not belong here, however), the gender is regularly feminine. We divide these plurals immediately into (1) those in *-añ, -aṃ*, and (2) those in *-aiñ, -aiṃ*.

Actually our texts present only one nom. pl. form of this type, i. e. *kaumaiño* (with added *o*, cf. above § 3, end) to sg. nom. *kaumiye*, obl. *kaumai*. All the plural forms here quotable are either oblique or secondary cases. And, likewise, all the other plural forms cited from elsewhere in the glossary are in *-aṃ* or *-aiṃ* and merely labeled "Pl." In addition, two nom. pl. forms are cited from Lévi, *Fragments de textes koutchéens*, viz. *atyañ* and *kotaiñ*. These are marked as usual "L." Hence, the deduction that all feminine nouns with obl. sg. *-ai*, obl. pl. *-aṃ* or *-aiṃ* have nom. pl. in *-añ* or *-aiñ* is open to doubt.[13]

(1) Plural in *-añ, -aṃ*: *arṣāklo* f. 'serpent,' *wertsya, wertsiya, wertsyo* f. 'retinue, following,' *preściya, preśya, preśyo* f. 'time,' *witsako, witsko* f. 'root.'

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[13] Professor Krause by letter confirms this deduction, but admits, on the evidence of forms not available to me, that nom. plurals in *-ṃ* identical with the obl. do occur: "Es scheint in der Tat, dass alle Nomina mit Obl. Sg. auf *-ai* den Nom. Pl. auf *-ñ* bilden: normale oder völlig korrekte Formen für den Nom. Pl. sind also z. B. *pyapaiñ, wertsyaiñ, komaiñ, yolaiñ*, usw. Nun aber erscheint anstelle des *-ñ* häufig ein *-ṃ*, z. T. bei den gleichen Wörtern, z.B. *yolaiñ* neben *yolaiṃ*, usw. Das ist wohl einerseits mit analogischer Beeinflussung durch den Obl. Pl. zu erklären, der regelmässig auf *-ṃ* ausgeht, anderseits mit einer spontanen Neigung des auslautenden *-ñ*, sich zum anusvāra abzuschwachen."

	Singular			
Nom.	*arṣāklo*	*wertsya*, etc.	*preściya*, etc.	*witsako*
Obl.	*arṣāklai*	*wertsyai*	*preśyai*	*witsakai*
Gen.	*arṣāklantse*	*wertsyantse*	*preśśiyantse*	*witsakantse*
Inst.				*atiyaisa*
Com.		*wertsyaimpa*		
Dat.	*arṣāklaiścä*			
Abl.	*arṣāklaimeṃ*	*wertsyaimeṃ*		
Loc.	*arṣāklaine*	*wertsyaine*	*preścyaine*	
	Plural			
Nom.				*atyañ* (L)
Obl.	[*a*]*rṣāklaṃ*(?)	*wertsyaṃ*	*preś*(*c*)*yaṃ*	*witskaṃ*
Gen.	(*arṣ*)*āklaṃts*		*preściyantso*	*witskaṃts*
Inst.			*preścyantsa*	
Com.		*wertsyaṃmpa*		
Loc.				*wṣeññaṃne*

Here also *atyai* obl. (nom. not attested) 'grass,' inst. *atiyaisa*, pl. nom. *atyañ* (L), gen. *atyaṃts*; *wṣeññai* obl. 'lying place, lair,' gen. *wṣeññantse*, loc. *wṣeññaine*, pl. *wṣeññaṃ*, loc. *wṣeññaṃne*; *śmoñña* f. 'place,' pl. obl. *śmoññaṃ*.

(2) Plural in *-aiñ*, *-aiṃ*: *proskiye*, *proskye*, *prosko* f. 'fear, danger,' *pyāpyo* f. 'flower,' *kaumiye* f. 'sea,' *kᵘṣai*, *kwaṣai* (obl. sg.) f. 'village,' *kotai* (obl. sg.) f. 'hole.'

	Singular				
Nom.	*proskiye*, etc.	*pyāpyo*	*kaumiye*		
Obl.	*proskai*	*pyāpyai*	*kaumai*	*kᵘṣai*	*kotai*
Gen.		*pyapyantse*			
Inst.					*kotaisa*
Dat.	*proskaiśco*				*kotaiśco*
Abl.					*kotaimeṃ*
Loc.	*proskaine*				
	Plural				
Nom.			*kaumaiño*		*kotaiñ* (L)
Obl.	*proskaiṃ*	*pyapyaiṃ*		*kᵘṣaino*	
Inst.				*kᵘṣaintsa*	
Loc.	*proskainne*			*kᵘṣaiṃne*	

Here also *sälyye* f. 'stroke, streak,' obl. *sälyai*, pl. obl. *sälyaiṃ*; *swañciye*, *swāñco* f. 'ray, beam,' obl. *swāñcai*, gen. *swañcaintse* (from obl.!), pl. (obl.?) *swañcaiṃ*.

Many nouns (all but two of them fem.) with sg. obl. in *-ai* are not found in the plural in our text or the glossary, but would seem most probably to belong here (either as 1 or 2) on the basis of the

attested forms; they might, however, be pls. in *-ana* like *mñcuṣka* (VIb): *emalya* f. 'heat,' inst. *emalyesa* (for *-yaisa*); *oṅkarño, oṅkorño* f. 'food made of milk,' obl. *oṅkarñai, -orñai*; *oskiye* f. perh. 'shelter,' obl. *oskai*; *katkauña* f. 'joy,' obl. *katkauñai*; *klautso* f. 'ear,' obl. *klautsai*; *peñiyo* 'beauty,' obl. *peñyai*; *manarkai* obl. perh. 'shore, border,' inst. *manarkaisa*; *yokye, yokiye, yoko* f. 'thirst,' obl. *yokai*, inst. *yokaisa*; *ymĭye* f. 'going, road, territory,' obl. *ymai*; *śakātai* obl. 'stick,' inst. *śakātaisa*; *ścona, śconiye, ścono* 'hate,' obl. *śconai*, abl. *śconaimeṃ*; *skiyo* f. 'shade,' obl. *skiyai*; *śkwarya* f. 'vine,' obl. *śkwaryai*; *pātro* f. 'alms cup' (< Skt. *pātra*), obl. *pātrai*.

Aberrent in gender are *auñento* m. sg. 'beginning,' obl. *auñentai*, and *nauntai* obl. m. sg. 'street.' These, of course, can be neuters, as is *ek* 'eye,' pl. *eśaiṃ* (quoted in glossary), which deviates not only in gender but also in the established norm of the nom. sg. by ending in a consonant. Another masc. sg. belonging to this class seems to be *yerkwantai* sg. obl. 'wheel,' pl. inst. *yerkwantantsa*.

The fem. *śamñāṃśka* 'girl,' obl. *śamñāṃśkai* in our text has the pl. *śamnāṃṣkana* (sic!) cited in the glossary from elsewhere, and so goes with *mñcuṣka* (VIb).

§ 24. VIII b. Plurals with nom. in *-ñ*, obl. *-ṃ*, and sg. obl. in *-ṃ*. This is a small group and, so far as the evidence goes, all masculine, and in most instances absence of one form or the other makes the classification ambiguous, e. g. no oblique plurals in *-ṃ* are actually attested, but they are probably to be assumed for all nouns with different endings in nom. and obl. plural. On this basis as definitely belonging to such a class we list: *waṣamo, wăṣmo* m. 'friend,' *aṣañĭke* m. 'worthy person, arhat,' *śamaśke*, (*śamaiśke*) m. 'boy,' *saswe, säswe* m. 'lord, master.'

		Singular		
Nom.	*waṣamo, wăṣmo*	*aṣañĭke*	*śamaśke*	*saswe, säswe*
Obl.	*waṣamoṃ*	*aṣanikeṃ*	*śamaśkeṃ*	*säsweno*
Gen.	*wāṣmontse*		*śamaśkeṃntse*	
Voc.	*waṣama*	*aṣañika*		*saswa*
		Plural		
Nom.	*waṣamoñ, wăṣmoñ*	(*aṣani*) *kāñ*	*śamaśkañ*	*säsweñ*
Gen.	*wāṣmoṃts*		*śamaśkaṃts*	

Here also belong clearly (because of the suffix) *säsuśke* m. dim. to *soy* 'son,' pl. voc. (= nom.) *s^{ä}suśkañ*, abl. *s^{ä}swaśkaṃmeṃ*, and

spaktă̆nĭ̆ke 'minister, servant,' pl. gen. (*spakta*)*nīkeṃts*. No doubt, the three plurals *passoñ* perh. 'muscles,' inst. *passontsa*, *yälloñ* 'sense functions,' obl. *yälloṃ*, gen. *yälloṃts*, and *moliñ* perh. 'fights,' inst. *molintsa*, belong here also. But the plural *tanaulykañ* 'name of a certain insect,' obl. *tanaulykaṃ*, may as well have its obl. sg. in *-ai* since its gender is not known.

Finally where to place *prāri* 'finger,' pl. obl. *prăroṃ*, I am entirely uncertain.

§ 25. IX. Plurals with nom. *-ñc*, obl. *-ntäṃ*. The obl. sg. is in *-nt*, and the gen. sg. *-nte*. Only three words in our text, all masculine, belong here: *walo, wlo* 'king,' *käryorttau* 'merchant,' *wetāu* 'fighter.'

		Singular	
Nom.	*walo, wlo*	*käryorttau*	*wetāu*
Obl.	*lānt*		
Gen.	*lānte*	*käryorttante*	*wetante*
Com.	*lāṇtmpa* (F)		
Dat.	*lāntäśco*		
Loc.	*lāntne*		
		Plural	
Nom.	*lāñc*	*käryorttañc*	*wetāñco*
Obl.	*lāntäṃ*	*käryorttantäṃ*	*wetāntäṃ*
Gen.	*laṃntaṃts* (L)		

§ 26. As usual there must be listed at the end, not as a plural formation, nor even perhaps as representative of single types of inflection, a few words that seem to show isolated yet clearly defined characteristics which do not, however, allow them to be placed in any of the clearer categories.

(a) Two words, both feminine, with sg. nom. *-a*, obl. *-o*: *lāntsa* 'queen,' obl. *lantso*, gen. *lāntsoy*; *ṣarya* 'lover,' obl. *ṣaryo*. It is doubtful, however, if we should include here *oṅkolma* f. 'elephant' (to *oṅkolmo* m., below), since it lacks the palatalization of the other two.

(b) Three words, at least one of them masculine, with sg. nom. *-o*, obl. *-a*: *oṅkolmo* 'elephant,' gen. *oṅkolmantse*; *kātso* 'belly,' obl. *kātsa*, dat. *kātsaś*, loc. *kātsane* (also inst. *kātsasa*, F); *kantwo* 'tongue,' obl. *kantwa* (also inst. *käntwasa* L.). (*Tāno* f. 'grain,' obl. *tāna* is probably from Skt. *dhānā*.)

(c) Finally, *kallau, källau* 'getting, booty,' gen. *källauntse*,

klauntse, loc. *kallaune*, related to the subj. stem of *kall-*, *käll-* to *kälp-* 'get, find.'

§ 27. There remains, of course, a mass of material for which no criteria are at hand that will allow us to place any of it even provisionally in any particular one of the classes. This is in general true, of course, when only singular forms are citable, and is especially true if there is no distinction between nom. and obl. sg. forms within the limits of our data. One can at times guess the probabilities from the suffix or even the word final, but such repartition of forms would remain guesswork only. We shall, therefore, leave these words (some eighty or more) out of our discussion.

II. THE DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES

§ 28. In the classification of adjectives according to their type of inflection, it seems best, as in the case of the nouns, to take as a basis their plural formation, and in this instance, specifically the nominative plural masculine. Subdivisions may be made according to the form of the oblique singular, according to the treatment of the stem final (the question of palatalization) before certain endings, or (and this is the usual situation) according to a combination of such factors.

According to this classification, we have five classes: I. Pl. in *-i*; II. Pl. in *-ñ*; III. Pl. in *-ñc*; IV. Pl. in *-ṃ* (both nom. and obl.!); V. Pl. in *-ṣ*.

As in the inflection of nouns, here also the obl. sg. masc. may be identical with the nominative or may be characterized by a special ending, usually *-ṃ*, less usually *-nt* (Cl. III, §§ 46-8), *-ṣ* (Cl. V, §§ 51-2), and, in a few formations which do not distinguish masc. and fem. inflection, by *-ai*, but this is normally characteristic of the obl. sg. fem. (cf. below).

§ 29. The obl. pl. masc. always ends in *-ṃ* (*-äṃ*, etc.) for all classes.

§ 30. The inflection of the feminine shows much less diversity of ending than does the masculine. In fact, in the singular the endings are always: nom. *-a*, obl. *-ai*, and in the plural, except for two classes (III, pls. in *-ñc*, and V, pls. in *-ṣ*), the ending for both nom. and obl. is always *-na* (*-ana*, *-ona*, *-ñana*). In those two classes the endings are *-nta* and *-uwa* respectively.

Characteristic of the feminine inflection is the assibilation of consonants preceding the endings ($t > ts$) or palatalization ($tt > cc$, $n > ñ$, $r > ry$, etc.). But the details differ too widely for any general rules.

§ 31. Secondary cases of the adjectives are, of course, rare since the endings are attached normally to the noun and the adjective remains in the oblique case. The general situation in this regard, outlined for Tocharian in *SSS*, pp. 205 ff. (group inflection), obtains also for Kuchean.

§ 32. The regular masculine genitive singular ending for adjec-

tives is *-epi* (after vowel *-pi*), and it is attested for most formations: *wroccepi, akalṣlyepi, pelaikneṣṣepi, ṣamāññepi, larepi, yolopi, kreñcepi, aiśmopi, ykuweṣepi.* Two types of nominal genitive endings occur, however: *-ntse* in *ṣmeñcantse* and *śayeñca*[*nts*]*e* from the pres. act. pples. *ṣmeñca* and **śayeñca, ṣmemanentse* from the pres. mid. pple. **ṣmemane,* and *-e* in *tallā*[*nt*]*e* from *tallā*[4] 'unfortunate,' obl. *tallānt,* and *ymassonte* from *ymassu,* obl. *ymassont.* Actually, however, in all of these instances we are dealing with substantivized adjectives, not attributives. The former ending (*-ntse*) is the usual genitive ending for nouns, the latter (*-e*) only of stems in *-nt* (as indeed here also), cf. §§ 6, 25.

I am unable to find an instance of the feminine genitive singular of an adjective in our texts.

The genitive plural shows the regular nominal ending, *-nts* (*-ts*); e. g. *ñwecceṃts* (nom. sg. masc. *ñwetse,* obl. *ñwecce*), *akalṣlyeṃts, akalṣlyets* (*akalṣälle*), *yolainaṃts* (*yolo*), *krentaṃts* (*kartse,* obl. *krent*), *klyomoṃts* (*klyomo*), *papāṣṣoṣäṃts* (pret. pple. *papäṣṣu*), *ltuweṣäṃts* (pret. pple. *ltu*), all masculine; fem. *kälpauwantso* (*kälpau,* nom. pl. fem. *kälpauwa*).

§ 33. The vocative case of the adjective is attested only in the masculine. There are two endings *-u* and *-ai.* The former seems to be the usual one: *wroccu* to *orotse* 'great,' *pilycalñeccu* to *pilycalñetstse* 'pious' (to caus. of *pälk-* 'burn, be hot'). The voc. of *aiśeñca* 'knowing' (pres. pple. of *aik-*) is *aiśeñcai* (in *po yśeñcai* 'O omniscient!' = Buddha), but this is probably only the oblique in vocative use; this, however, cannot be the situation with *klyomai* voc. to *klyomo* 'noble' of which the obl. is *klyomoṃ* or *klyommont.*

§ 34. A few dual forms are attested. These agree with the noun: *ñäkcyane* to *ñäkcye* 'divine' and *naumikkane* (*eśnesa* 'with glittering eyes') to *naumikke.* The form *lalaṃṣki* (to *lalaṃṣke* 'tender'), noted s. v. in the glossary as dual nom. (and obl.) at 23a7, is, like the accompanying (*śra*)[*ddh*]*auñe*[*ṣṣ*]*i* and *weweño*(*ṣ*), merely plural in spite of the duals with which they intend to agree.[14]

§ 35. I. Adjectives with nom. pl. masc. in *-i.*

The nom. sg. masc. ends in *-e,* with which the obl. sg. may be

[14] The passage is: [*ṣ*](*a*)*r*(*n*)*e weweño*(*ṣ śra*)[*ddh*]*auñe*[*ṣṣ*]*i tai lalaṃṣki* 'these two are called the tender hands of faithfulness.'

identical, or the latter may be distinguished by palatalization, i. e. *-tse* or *-(t)te* vs. *-(c)ce*, or by the ending *-eṃ*. The fem. endings are sg. nom. *-a* (or *-ya*), obl. *-ai* (or *-yai*), pl. nom.-obl. *-ana* or *-ona*.

I a. Adjectives with nom.-sg. masc. in *-tse*.

Such adjectives regularly show palatalization of the final to *-cc-* before the ending of all other cases of the masculine, but do not alter it in the feminine. A representative of this class is *orotse* (var. *orotstse, orottse, wrotse*, etc.) 'great.' Other cases are supplied by *ñwetse* 'new,' and *snaitse* 'poor.' Secondary cases are, of course, extremely rare.

	Masc.			Fem.
		Singular		
Nom.	*orotse*, etc.	*ñwetse*	*snaitse*	*orotsa*, etc.
Obl.	*orocce*, etc.	*ñwecce*	*snaice*	*orotsai*, etc.
Gen.	*wroccepi*			
Loc.			*snaiccene*	
Voc.	*wroccu*			
		Plural		
Nom.	*orocci*, etc.			*orotsana*, etc.
Obl.	*orocceṃ*, etc.			*orotsana*, etc.
Gen.		*ñwecceṃts*		

A consonant preceding *-ts* will also show palatalization if possible, cf. *pärsāntse* 'speckled,' pl. nom. masc. *pärsāñci*, fem. *pärsāntsana*; *aiwoltse* 'inclined toward,' *aiwolyci*.[15] A listing of all adjectives (some two dozen) would be useless since the inflection is entirely regular.

A variant of this type seems to be *krośce, krośśe* 'cold.' The obl. sg. m. shows the ending *-ṃ* like the monosyllabic stems with pl. in *-ñ* (*lare*, etc., below, § 41), e. g. sg. obl. m. *krośceṃ*, pl. nom. m. *krości*, f. *kroścana*.

§ 36. I b. The adjective in *-tte* may be considered hardly a

[15] Only an apparent exception to this rule is *laṅktse, laṅtse* 'easy,' nom. pl. masc. *läṅkᵘci*, not **läñści*. This is another instance of the retention of the labial element of an original labiovelar. The word is the exact equivalent of the Germanic group. Goth. *leihts*, OE *leoht*, OHG *līht, līhti* 'light, easy' from PIE **lengʷh-tos*: Grk. *ἐλαχύς* 'little,' *ἐλαφρός* 'light, quick,' Skt. *laghus, raghus* 'swift,' Lith. *leñgvas* 'light, easy,' etc. Until now the *t-* suffix was lacking outside Germanic (cf. Feist, *Vgl. Wtb. d. got. Sprache* 326).

variant of the above type, though of these even fewer quotable cases occur. However, in so far as our evidence does go, the chief deviation is in the feminine, where we find palatalization. To be sure, only the obl. sg. in *-cai* is attested in our texts, but *SSS*, p. 247, supplies us with the further information: sg. fem. nom. *-cca*, pl. masc. nom. *-cci*. No pl. fem. forms are cited, however. As examples, we present the following: *atākatte* 'untrue, false,' *ekamätte* 'future, not come,' *ontsoytte* 'unsatisfied,' *eṅkälpatte* not having received.'

	Masc.		Fem.
	Singular		
Nom.	*atākatte*	*ekamätte* *ontsoytte*	----- *cca* (*SSS*)
Obl.	*atākacce*		*ekamäcai*
Dat.		*ontsoycceś*	
	Plural		
Nom.	----- *cci* (*SSS*)		
Gen.	*eṅkalpaiccets* (sic!)		

It is noteworthy that all the above forms as well as all other quotable adjectives of this formation are privatives in *a-*, *e-*, *eṅ-*, and *on(t)-* from verbal roots. Only one form, *erkatte* indecl. 'unwilling,' is not obviously so, since the verbal root from which it is derived (*räk-*, *rak-* ?) is not attested in our texts.

§ 37. I c. It seems best to consider the ordinals in *-te* as a distinct type also, at least in derivation: *wate* '2nd,' *trīte* '3rd,' *śtarte* '4th,' *śkante* '10th.' The following forms are attested:

	Masc.				Fem.
	Singular				
Nom.	*wate*	*trīte*	*śtarte*	*piṅkte*	*śkänte*	*śtarca*
Obl.	*wace, wce*	*trīce*	*śtarce*	*piṅkce*	*śkäñce*	
Inst.	*watesa*	*tritesa*				
Abl.		(*tri*) *cemeṃ*				

It is to be noted that the obl. sg. fem. *ekamäcai* to *ekamätte* (Ib, above), and the nom. sg. fem. here show the same palatalization. The instrumental forms *watesa* and *tritesa* occurring only in the meanings 'for the second time' and 'for the third time' respectively are irregular in being formed from the nom. sg., not from the obl.

§ 38. I d. Next we list certain adjectives in *-ă̄re*,[16] the masc.

[16] But for other adjectives in *-(ă̄)re* with pl. in *-ñ*, cf. below § 42.

obl. sg. of which ends in *-ṃ* and shows no palatalization anywhere. The fem., on the other hand, shows palatalization in the sg., and has the pl. ending *-ona* (as opposed to *-ana*). As examples we chose *astare, āstre* 'pure, bright,' *pakwāre* 'bad.'

	Masc.	Fem.
	Singular	
Nom.	*astare, āstre*	*astarya*
Obl.	*astareṃ, āstreṃ*	*astaryai*
	Plural	
Nom.	*pakwāri*	*astarona, āstrona*
Com.	*pakwāreṃmpa*	

Whether or not this category should be limited to adjs. in *-ă̄re*, I am not certain. In Tocharian the adjectives in *-e* (including verbal adjectives) are quite parallel to those in *-r* (cf. *SSS*, p. 160.) In our Kuchean texts the nearest comparable adj. in *-e-* is *empelye, empele* 'frightful,' which form, however, is also masc. obl. sg. Whether or not it is a contributory factor to the use of *empelye, empele* as the obl. sg. masc. in our texts, it is at least worth noting that in all these instances the adjective immediately follows rather than precedes the noun. The pl. fem. *empelona* occurs several times and the fem. nom. sg. *empelya* is cited from elsewhere, and Lévi, *Fragments*, gives the masc. nom. pl. *empilyi* and *empelyi* (K 7b4 and 5 resp., p. 92). The adj. *emalle, emalye* 'hot' (= Toch. *omäl*) is cited in our Glossary s. v. *emalya* 'heat' but without any other case forms. For the inflection of verbal adjectives in *-(l)le* see below, § 39.

Here should be mentioned possibly also two more adjectives in *-ye*: *aiśaumye* 'knowing' (obl. sg. masc.) apparently, but with crasis: *aiś(au)my(a)ñmāla[ṣ]ke* 'wise (and) compassionate' 3b1), gen. *aiśaumyepi*, nom. pl. *aiśaumyi*; and *kärpye* 'ordinary, common' (nom. sg. masc. *kärpye yakne* 'of common sort,' 5b8), nom. pl. masc. *kärpi*. Lévi, *Fragments*, gives for *aiśaumye* the additional forms: obl. sg. masc. *aiśaumyen (no)* (= Skt. *prājñaṃ tu*, U 9b3), gen. pl. masc. *aiśaumyeṃts* (S 4a1), com. pl. masc. *aiśaumyeṃ pa* (for *aiśaumeṃmpa!* S 6b4).[17]

§ 39. I e. Verbal adjectives in *-lle*. Best attested are the forms of *akalṣälle* m. 'disciple,' substantivized vbl. adj. of *akl-* 'learn,

[17] The form *aiśamoṃ* cited by Lévi, op. cit., p. 110, s. v. *aiśaumye*, must belong rather to *aiśmo*; cf. below, § 49.

study, practise.' Otherwise, chiefly nominative (sg. or pl.) forms are attested, because of the dominant use of the verbal adjectives in periphrastic construction with the verb 'to be' (expressed or implied) in the sense of a future passive participle or gerundive. Beside the sbst. *akalṣälle* we give for the sake of the feminine forms also *lkāṣṣälle, lkāṣle* 1st vbl. adj. to *läk-, lkā-* 'see,' *källälle* 2nd vbl. adj. to *kälp-* 'find, get,' and *nakṣalye* 1st vbl. adj. to *nak-* 'blame' (obl. sg. m. at 16a6).

	Masc.		Fem.	
		Singular		
Nom.	*akalṣälle*	*källälle*	*lkāṣṣälya, lkāṣlya*	
Obl.	?	*nakṣalye*	?	
Gen.	*akalṣlyepi*			
		Plural		
Nom.	*akalṣlyi*	*källälyi*	*lkāṣlona*	*klällona*
Obl.	*akalṣlyeṃ*			
Gen.	*akalṣlyeṃts*			

Sp. shows also fem. pl. *kälälyana* = *klällona.*

§ 40. I f. To this same plural formation belong the numerous so-called possessive adjectives in *-ṣṣe, -ññe,* and *-ye.* All three types are inflected alike. We give the endings only in paradigmatic arrangement.

	Masc.			Fem.		
			Singular			
Nom.	*-ṣṣe*	*-ññe*	*-ye*	*-ṣṣa*	*-ñña*	
Obl.	*-ṣṣe*	*-ññe*	*-ye*	*-ṣṣai*	*-ññai*	*-yai*
Gen.	*-ṣṣepi*	*-ññepi*				
			Plural			
Nom.	*-ṣṣi*	*-ññi*	*-yi*	*-ṣṣana*	*-ññana*	
Obl.	*-ṣṣeṃ*	*-ññeṃ*		*-ṣṣana*	*-ññana*	
Gen.	*-ṣṣeṃts*	*-ññeṃts*				

Examples of such formations are the following: (1) *-ṣṣe*: from *pelaikne* 'dharma,' m. *pelaikneṣṣe,* gen. *pelaikneṣṣepi,* f. sg. obl. *pelaikneṣṣai,* pl. *pelaikneṣṣana*; from *piś* + *cmel* 'five + birth,' m. *piścmelaṣṣe,* pl. m. gen. *piścmelaṣṣeṃts, piścmelṣeṃts,* f. nom.-obl. *piścmelṣana*; from *lakle* 'suffering,' m. *läkleṣṣe,* pl. m. obl. *läkleṣṣeṃ*; from *ĭke, yke* 'place, step,' m. *ykeṣṣe,* f. *ykeṣṣa*; etc. (2) *-ññe*: from *Śākke* (< Skt. *Śākya*) m. *śakkeññe,* pl. m. nom. *śakkeññi,* gen. *śakeññeṃtso*; from *ṣamāne* 'monk,' m. *ṣamāññe,*

gen. *ṣamāññepi*, pl. m. obl. *ṣamāññeṃ*, from *teki* 'disease,' m. *tekiñña* f. obl. *tekiññai*; from *eñcuwo* 'iron,' m. nom.-obl. *eñcuwañña*, f. nom. *eñcwañña*, obl. *eñcwaññai*; etc.

(3) *-ye*: The only clear examples that I find in our texts are *ñäkcye*, from *ñäkte*, *ñakte* 'god,' obl. sg. f. *ñäkcyai* (dual *ñäkcyane!*); *matarye* (beside *mātärṣṣe*) from *mācer*, obl. *mātär* 'mother'; *ypoye* from *ypoy* 'land'; *kewye* sbst. 'butter' from *ke*^{u} 'cow.' *SSS*, p. 21, cites also *meñye* from *meñe* 'moon, month.' This is no doubt the more elementary form of the suffix and lies behind both *-ṣṣe* (*-skyo-*) and *-ññe* (*-nyo-*). The latter is clear in *ṣamāññe* and *brāhmañña* from *ṣamāne* and *brāhmaṇe*, though to be sure, both are Skt. lwds. (*śramaṇa* and *brāhmaṇa*).

Whether or not the adjectives *aiśaumye* 'knowing' and *kärpye* 'common' (discussed above, IV, end) belong here originally, I am not sure. But clearly *empelye*, *empele* 'frightful' by virtue of its f. pl. ending *-ona* is to be distinguished from these poss. adjs.

§ 41. An isolated plural in *-i* is *śrāy*, obl. masc. *śrānäṃ*, both times with *wetā*^{u} 'warrior' (*śrāy wetāñco* 47a8, *śrānä*[*ṃ*] *wetāntäṃ* 22a1) poss. 'aged.'

Likewise, *lalaṃṣke* 'tender' has a plural *lalaṃṣki* at 23a7, used, to be sure, as nom. du. masc. and so labelled in the glossary s. v. Possibly the inflection of *añmālaṣke*, *añmālaṃṣke* 'compassionate' will be the same.

§ 42. II. Adjectives with nom. pl. m. in *-ñ*.

II a. Monosyllabic stems with nom. sg. masc. in *-e*, obl. *-eṃ*, pl. obl. in *-eṃ* or *-enäṃ*, fem. nom. *-iya*: *lare* 'dear, friendly,' *śc̆ire* 'hard, rough,' *swă̆re* 'sweet.'

		Masc.		Fem.	
			Singular		
Nom.	*lare*	*swă̆re*	*śc̆ire*	*lariya*	
Obl.	*lareṃ*	*swă̆reṃ*			
Gen.	*larepi*				
			Plural		
Nom.	*lareñ*		*ścireñ*	*larona*	*ścirona*
Obl.	*lareṃ*	*swarenäṃ*	*ścirenäṃ*	*larona*	*ścirona*

Here probably belong also *śāte* 'rich,' pl. *śateñ* (obl. *śatenäṃ*); *maiwe* 'young,' pl. *maiweñ* (obl. pl. *maiweṃ*); *śrāddhe* 'believing' (from Skt. *śrāddha*), pl. *śraddheño* (gen. pl. *śraddhenäts*). *Lare*

has also pl. obl. m. *larenäṃ*. *Swăre* has abl. sg. m. *swareṃmeṃ*, nom.-obl. pl. f. *swarona*. It is noteworthy that the monosyllabic stems in *-re* belong here (hence inclusion of *swăre*) as opposed to dissyllabic stems like *astare*.

§ 43. II b. Adjectives with masc. nom. sg. in *-a*, obl. in *-ai*, pl. nom. *-añ*, obl. *-aṃ*. These are chiefly of two types: (1) present active participles in *-ñca*, and (2) adjectiva or nomina agentis in *-ca* derived from verbal roots. For neither are there attested special feminine forms so far as I can determine. For example, at 30a6 we find the participles *näkṣeñca* 'destroying,' *yāmṣeñca* 'making,' and the adj. ag. *kärstaucā* (with *ā* for *a*) 'cutting off,' all referring to *ytārye* nom. sg. fem. 'way, road.' As still a third group we may consider the two (in derivation quite different) adjectives *aknātsa* 'ignorant' and *rita* 'desirous, desiring' (from *rit-* 'desire').

(1) Present active participles:[18] *ṣmeñca* to *ṣäm-* 'be, be situated' (esp. *ost-* or *osta-ṣmeñca* 'householder'), *aiśeñca* to *aik-* 'know,' *śayeñcai* (obl. sg.) to *śai-* 'live,' *wikṣeñca* to *wik-* 'avoid.'

		Singular		
Nom.	*ṣmeñca*	*aiśeñca*		*wikṣeñca*
Obl.			*śayeñcai*	
Gen.	*ṣmeñcantse*		*śayeñcantse*	
Voc.	(= Obl.)	(*a*)*yśeñcai*		
		Plural		
Nom.	*ṣmeñcaṃ* (sic!)	*aiśeñcañ*		*wikṣeñcañ*

It would seem probable that *ṣmeñcaṃ* is actually obl. pl. for nom. pl. **ṣmeñcañ*. The most commonly attested cases are nom. sg. and pl.

§ 44. II b (2) Adjectiva and nomina agentis: *ynūca* to *i-/y-* 'go,' *pälskauca* to *pälsk-* 'think,' *kärsauca* to *kärs-* 'know.'

(3) The verbal derivatives *aknātsa* 'ignorant' (cf. Toch. *āknats* neg. from *knān-* 'know'), and *rita* 'desiring' to *rit-* 'desire.'

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[18] Present middle participles in *-mane* are normally without inflection, e. g. nom. pl. masc. *ynemane . . . klyauṣāre* 19a6, nom. sg. fem. *sāu ynemane* 18b8, obl. pl. fem. *lnaskemane . . . yenteṃ* 41b4, etc. A deviation from this rule is the substantivized gen. sg. *ostäṣmemanentse* 'of the householder' 33a5 (root *ṣäm-* 'sit, be'). The situation is parallel in Tocharian, cf. *SSS*, p. 66.

		(2)		(3)
		Singular		
Nom.	*ynūca*	*kärsauca*	*aknātsa*	*rita*
Obl.		**kärsaucai*	**aknātsai*	
Inst.		*kärsaucaisa*	*aknātsaimpa*	
Com.				
		Plural		
Nom.	*ynūcañ*	*pälskaucañ*	*aknātsañ*	*ritañ*
Obl.	*ynūcaṃ*			
Inst.			*aknātsa(ntsa)*	

(4) Here may be listed also as a convenience only (because of the similarity of attested forms) the bahuvrīhi cpd. *śkamaiyya* 'having the ten powers' (*maiyya, maiyyo* f. 'power, strength'): sg. obl. (*śka*)*maiyyai*, gen. *śkamaiyyantse*, all with reference to Buddha.

§ 45. II c. As a special category must be introduced here the frequently occurring *yolo* 'evil,' for which, unfortunately however, our texts offer no nom. pl. masc. However, Lévi, *Frag.* K765 (p. 92) offers us (reading corrected by Sieg, *KZ* 65.33) *tūsa yolaiñ cey ra tsa mäskenträ* "therefore they, no matter where, are evil."

	Singular		Plural	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
Nom.	*yolo*	*yolyiya*	*yolaiñ* (L)	*yolaina*
Obl.	*yolaiṃ, yolai* (?)	*yolyiyai*	**yolaiṃ*	*yolaina*
Gen.	*yolopi* (*KZ* 65.9)		*yolainaṃts* (L)	
Abl.			*yolaiṃmeṃ*	
Loc.			*yolainne* (L)	

§ 46. III. Adjectives with nom. pl. masc. in *-ñc.*

These are of two principal sorts: (a) nom. sg. masc. in a diphthong *-ā*^{u} or *-e*^{u}, obl. in *-ānt* or *-ent*; (b) nom. sg. masc. in *-ssu*, obl. in *-ssont.*

(a) *tallā*^{u}, *tallāw, tallāwo* 'miserable, unfortunate,' *śalnā*^{u}, *śallā*^{u}, 'quarrelsome' (cf. *śalna, śalla* 'quarrel'), *perne*^{u}, *pernewo* 'worthy.'

	Masc.		Fem.	
			Singular	
Nom.	*tallā*^{u}	*śalnā*^{u}	*perne*^{u}	*t(a)[l]l(au)[n]ts(a)*
Obl.	*tallānt*		*pernent*	*tallontsai*
Gen.	*tallā[nt]e*			
			Plural	
Nom.	*tallāñc*		*perneñco*	*pernenta*
Obl.	*tallāntäṃ*			
Gen.		*(śä)lnāntats*		

Like *tallāᵘ* prob. *maiyyāᵘ* 'strong,' and like *perneᵘ* apparently the nom. pl. m. *tsaiñeñco*, cf. *tsaiñe* 'ornament.'

§ 47. III b. The adjectives in *-ssu* are clearly derivatives of noun forms. The value of the suffix is somewhat that of the Skt. *-mant* or *-vant*: *läklessu, lklessu*, 'unhappy' from *lakle* 'trouble,' *ymassu, imassu* 'thoughtful' from *ime* 'consciousness, remembrance,' *śaulassu* 'honorable' (= Skt. *āyuṣmant*) from *śaul* 'life' (Skt. *āyus*).

	Masc.		Fem.	
		Singular		
Nom.	*läklessu*	*imassu*		
Obl.		*ymassont*	(1) *läklessuntsai*	(2) *läklessuññai*
Gen.		*ymassonte*		
		Plural		
Nom.	*läklessoñc*	*śaulassoñc*		

The obl. sg. fem. *läklessuññai* is from an extended nom. sg. masc. *läklessuñše* of the deriv. poss. adj. inflection (cf. above, § 40).

§ 48. III c. As a third entry under plurals in *-ñc* must be entered the anomalous *kartse*, obl. stem *krent-*. The inflection is as follows:

	Singular		Plural	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
Nom.	*kartse*	*kartsa, kartstsa*	*kreñc, kreś*	*krenta*
Obl.	*krent*	*kartsai*	*krentäṃ*	*krenta*
Gen.	*kreñcepi*		*krentaṃts, krentats*	
Inst.			*krentäṃtsa*	
Loc.			*krentäṃne*	

In addition the dual *kartsi* is cited from another text without indication of case (nom. or obl.) or gender. The gen. pl. may also have *-ä-*, e. g. *krentäntso, krentäṃtsä*.

§ 49. IV. Adjectives in *-mo* with nom. pl. masc. in *-ṃ*.

Except for *klyomo* 'noble,' cases other than the nom. are extremely rare. The greater share of the attested forms are clearly derivatives of verbal roots, e. g. *alāṣmo* 'sick' to *alās-* 'be sick,' *aiśmo* 'understanding' to *aik-* 'know,' *ynamo* 'running' to *i-/y-* 'go,' *lyukemo* 'shining' to *luk-* 'shine,' *salamo* 'jumping' to *sal-* 'jump,' **tsnamo* 'flowing' to *tsän-* 'flow.'

These adjectives are peculiar in that they have the same ending (*-ṃ*) in the obl. sg. and the nom.-obl. pl. masc., and in that the fem. has a stem in *-ñ-*.

	Masc.		Fem.
		Singular	
Nom.	*klyomo*	*aiśmo salamo*	*klyomña*
Obl.	*klyomoṃ, klyommont*	*(alā)ṣmo(ṃ)*	*klyomñai*
Gen.		*aiśmopi*	
Inst.			*tsnamñaisa*
Voc.	*klyomai*		
		Plural	
Nom.	*klyomoṃ*		*klyomñana ṣlyamñana*
Obl.	*klyomoṃ*		*klyomñana ṣlyamñana*
Gen.	*klyomoṃts*		

§ 50. V. Adjectives with nom. pl. masc. in *-ṣ*, preterite participles. There are two types: (a) nom. sg. masc. in *-u*; (b) nom. sg. masc. in *-au*.

(a) Participles in *-u*. Again there are two types: (1) obl. masc. stem in *-oṣ*; (2) obl. masc. stem in *-uweṣ*. The fem. forms are not affected.

(1) *ākṣu* from *aks-* 'announce,' *ausu* from *wäs-* 'clothe,' *kekamu, kekmu* from *käm-* 'come,' *kekenu* from *kän-* 'come to pass, succeed,' *papāṣṣu* from *pask-* 'keep, observe,' **śeśśanmu* from *śanm-* 'bind.'

	Masc.		Fem.
		Singular	
Nom.	*ākṣu ausu*	*kekamu papāṣṣu*	*ākṣusa śeśśanmusa*
Obl.	*ākṣoṣ*		*kekmusai*
		Plural	
Nom.		*kekamoṣ papāṣṣoṣ śeśśanmoṣ*	*kekmwa papāṣwa*
Obl.	*ausoṣäṃ*		
Gen.		*papāṣṣoṣäṃts, -äts*	

(2) *ltu* from *lät-* 'go out,' *yku* from *i-/y-* 'go.'

	Masc.		Fem.
		Singular	
Nom.	*yku*	*ltu*	*ykūsa*
Obl.	*ykuweṣo*		*ltusai*
Gen.	*ykuweṣepi* (*KZ* 65.9)		
		Plural	
Nom.		*ltuweṣ, ltweṣ*	*ykuwa*
Obl.			*ykuwa*
Gen.		*ltuweṣäṃts*	

§ 51. V b. Participles in *-au*. These are likewise to be divided according to the obl. masc. stem: (1) in *-oṣ*; (2) in *-aṣ*.

(1) *kälpau* from *kälp-* 'find, get,' *tärkau* from *tärk-* 'dismiss,' *putkau, putkowä* from *putk-* 'divide,' *lmau* from *läm-* 'be situated,' *stmau* from *stäm-* 'stand,' *tsäṅkau, tsäṅkowo* from *tsäṅk-* 'arise,' *tsälpau, tsälpowo* from *tsälp-* 'be released.'

	Masc.				Fem.	
			Singular			
Nom.	*kälpau*	*tärkau*	*putkau*	*lmau*	*lmausa*	*tsäṅkausa*
Obl.		**tärkoṣ*		*lmoṣ*	*st(mau)sai*	
Gen.				*lmoṣepi*		
Loc.		*tärkoṣne*				
			Plural			
Nom.	*kälpoṣ*	*tärkoṣ*		*lmoṣ*	*kälpauwa*	*tsäṅkauwa*
Obl.			*putkoṣäṃ*		*kälpauwa*	*tsäṅkauwa*
Gen.					*kälpauwantso*	

(2) *ārttau* from *art-* 'love,' *tatākau* from *tāk-* (pres. stem *nes-*) 'be,' *mamāntau* from *mänt-* 'injure,' *wawāyau* from *wā-* (pres. stem *ak-*) 'lead.'

	Masc.				Fem.
			Singular		
Nom.	*ārttau*	*tatākau*	*mamāntau*	*wawāyau*	*tatākausa*
Obl.	*ārttaṣ*		*mamāntaṣ*		
			Plural		
Nom.		*tatākaṣ*		*wawāyaṣ*	

§ 52. As is to be expected, sufficient evidence is lacking for the classification of a considerable number of forms. Among them one might signal out in particular two adjectives in *-ke*: *ainăke* 'low, base,' *lykaśke* 'small.' For the latter we find the obl. sg. masc. *lykaśkeṃ* in Lévi, *Fragments*, S5a1. On *añmālaṣke* 'compassionate' and *lalaṃṣke* 'tender,' cf. above § 41, end. Further, neither *ayāto* 'favorable, suited,' dat. *ayātoś*, nor *tsatku* 'wrong,' obl. pl. masc. *tsatkuṃ*, seem to fit into any of the categories of adjectives in *-o* or in *-u*.

The two Kuchean adjectives in *-i* in our texts, *akṣi* 'announcing,' obl. sg. masc. *akṣiṃ*, and *ārkwi* 'white,' fem. sg. nom. *arkwañña*, obl. *arkwañňai*, pl. nom.-obl. *arkwĭna*, may belong to one and the same type of inflection or may be entirely different. In any case, the crucial forms for our classification are lacking. The presumed

nom. pl. fem. *arkᵘye* (*wässanma*) Lévi, *Fragments* K10a3, is an erroneous reading, cf. *KZ* 65.45.

Finally, mention should be made of the usually uninflected *māka* 'many,' e. g. masc. pl. nom. *māka pudñäkti* (17a8), obl. *wnolmeṃ māka* (3a1); fem. pl. obl. *māka cmela* (17a8), loc. *māka cmelane* (42b3), etc. Inflected gen. pl. however: *wnolmets makāts* (17b2 = 15a8 - - - *lme*[*ṃ*]*ts makāṃt*[*s*]). As sb.: *māka kakraupau* 'having gathered much' (44a8); and as adv.: *māka plyawāre ñakti śāmna* 'gods (and) men wept much' (45a3).

III. THE DECLENSION OF PRONOUNS

§ 53. The demonstrative pronouns. As in Tocharian there are also in Kuchean a variety of demonstratives all based eventually upon the PIE stem **so, sā, tod.* Beyond that statement, however, there is little agreement between the actual individual declensions in Tocharian and Kuchean; hence comparisons would be of little practical use here (except from the point of view of meaning) and historical explanations are in general beyond the purpose of this study.

The simplest form of the demonstrative, i. e. the one which seems to have suffered least by extension, is given first, *se, sā, te* (Demonstrative I), in spite of the fact that this most closely corresponds to Skt. *ayam, iyam, idam* in meaning (rather than to *sas, sā, tad*). Furthermore, it is here that the masculine plural *cai,* etc. (cf. below) and probably also the dual *tai* belong, though both are actually without deixis (i. e. do not indicate position of the indicated object with relation to the speaker), and therefore serve also as plurals for both II (*su*) and III (*seṃ*). The feminine, on the other hand, seems to have developed extended plurals for the latter demonstratives, though only nom. and/or obl. forms are attested.

Demonstrative II is characterized by a deictic particle *-u* which in several instances seems to have absorbed the stem vowel, e. g. in masc. sg. nom. and gen. and in the entire neuter. The fem. pl., nom.-obl. *toṃ* which seems to belong here (so Sieg, glossary, p. 130) is peculiar not only in ending in *-ṃ* but also in vocalism (*o* < *āu*?).

Demonstrative III is characterized by *-ṃ* (= final *n*, of course) added directly and without further complication to demonstrative I. The nom-obl. pl. fem. is peculiar only in ending in *-na* rather than merely in *-ṃ* (*-n*). This may be attributed to the influence of adjective inflection (cf. above, § 30).

Demonstrative IV seems likewise to be formed directly from II by addition of a particle *-mp,* or perhaps by vowel + *mp.* The latter would possibly explain the retention of a fuller vowel form in the demonstrative stem itself in the singular, i. e. masc. *a/o,* fem. *o,* neuter *a.* This is the only demonstrative for which an extended plural masculine is attested.

§ 54. The genitive singular masculine and feminine, it will be noted, is for the first three demonstratives likewise without deixis. In this instance it would seem that the masc. *cwi*, etc., properly belongs with *su* (demonstrative II) and the fem. *tai* rather with *sā* (demonstrative I).

For the neuter, on the other hand, we find both *tentse* from either *te* or *teṃ* (demonstrative I and III) and *tuntse* from *tu* (demonstrative II).

The endings of the genitive singular, *ï* (*-y*) for the masculine and feminine and *-(n)tse* for the neuter, are the same that have been met with already in nominal inflection (above, § 6). It would seem, however, that *-ï* belongs properly to the pronominal inflection and *-(n)tse* to the nominal. The final *i* of the gen. sg. of masc. adjectives, *-epi* may also be of the same origin.[19]

§ 55. The only gen. pl. attested is *ceṃts, cets* (masc., demonstrative I) which shows the ending regular for both nominal and adjectival inflection.

§ 56. As in Tocharian, the neuter demonstratives show no plural inflection, and the singular forms can be used only independently, never attributively (cf. *SSS* 169).

§ 57. Demonstrative I = Skt. *ayam, iyam, idam.*

	Singular		
	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	*se*	*sā*	*te*
Abl.	*ce*	*tā, tāk*	
Gen.	(*cwi, cwī, cpi*)	*tāy, tāyä*	*tentse*
Inst.	*cesa*	*tāsa, tāksa*	*tesa*
Com.	*cempa*		*tempa*
Abl.			*temeṃ*
Loc.	*cene*		
	Plural		
Nom.	*cai, ceyä*		*toy*
Obl.	*ceṃ, cen*		
Gen.	*ceṃts, cets*		

Of the dual is found nom.-obl. *tai* and gen. *tainaisäñ* like the masculine plural also without distinction of deixis.

§ 58. Demonstrative II = Skt. *sas, sā, tad,* and *asau, adas.*

[19] Cf. *Language* 24. 293 f.

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
		Singular	
Nom.	*su, sū*	*sāᵘ, sāw*	*tu, tū, tw*
Obl.	*ceᵘ, cew, cau*	*tāᵘ, tāw, tawak*	
Gen.	*cwi, cwī, cpi*	(*tāy*)	*tuntse*
Inst.	*cewsa*	*tāwsa*	*tusa, tūsa*
Dat.		*tāwäś*	
Abl.	*cewmeṃ*		*tumeṃ*
Loc.	*cewne*		*tune, tūne*
		Plural	
Nom.	(*cai, ceyä*)	*toṃ, ton*	
Obl.	(*ceṃ, cen*)		
Gen.	(*ceṃts, cets*)		
Abl.		*toṃmeṃ*	

§ 59. Demonstrative III = Skt. *eṣas, eṣā, etad.*

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
		Singular	
Nom.	*seṃ*	*sāṃ*	*teṃ, ten*
Obl.	*ceṃ*	*tāṃ*	
Gen.	(*cwi, cwī, cpi*)	(*tāy*)	(*tentse?*)
Dat.	*cenäśco*		
		Plural	
Nom.	(*cai, ceyä*)	*toyna*	
Obl.	(*ceṃ, cen*)		
Gen.	(*ceṃts, cets*)		

§ 60. Demonstrative IV = Skt. *asau, adas.*

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
		Singular	
Nom.	*sam, samp, sampä*	*soṁ, somp*	*tam, tamp*
Obl.	*com, comp, compä*	*tom*	
Gen.	*cwim, cwimp*		
Inst.	*comtsa*		
Com.	*compämpa*		
Abl			*tammeṃ*
		Plural	
Nom.	*caim, caimp, ceym*	*toym*	
Obl.			

§ 61. Personal pronouns of the first and second persons:

	1st person	2nd person
	Singular	
Nom.	*ñäś, ñiś*	*twe, tuwe*
Abl.	*ñäś, ñiś*	*ci, cī*
Gen.	*ñi*	*tañ*
Inst.	*ñissa, ñisa*	*cisa*
Dat.	*ñäśäśc, ñäś*	*ciś*
	Plural	
Nom.	*wes*	*yes*
Obl.	*wes*	*yes*
Gen.	*wesäñ, wesi*	*yesäñ, yesñ, yesäṃ, yesi*
Inst.		*yessāk*
Dat.		*yesäś*
Abl.	*wesanmeṃ, wesmeṃ*	
Loc.	*wesäṃne, wesne*	
	Dual	
Nom. obl.		*yene*

§ 62. Enclitic pronouns attached to verbal forms are: Sg. 1 *-ñ*, 2 *-c* (*-ś*), 3 *-ne*, dat. *-neś*; Pl. 1, 2, 3 *-me*. These forms may, so far as their translation is concerned, be construed as representing a variety of case forms: not only as accusative and dative objects, but also as genitives (datives of possession) and even as instrumentals (with passive verb forms). Frequently, they seem actually to be controlled, not by the verb itself, but rather by some verbal adjunct: preverb, preposition, or adverb. The following list of examples makes no claim to exhaustiveness, especially in the instance of the third singular and plural, rather it is merely intended to illustrate the varied uses.

Sg. 1 *-ñ*: *mā tlanatärñ* 'is not carried by me' (17a2); *k[au]sañ śrānä[ṃ] wetāntäṃ* 'he killed for me the old warriors' (22a1); *rekaunasa tsoksañ māka* 'he caused me to drink much with words' (23b7); *tam tot śwātsi starñ* 'that is so much food for me' (25a7); *pokseñ* 'announce to me' (45a3; root *aks-*); *[p]lamasñ akarte* 'sit up to me close' (46b4); etc.

Sg. 2 *-c*: *lkāntärc* 'are seen on thee' (5b5; 6); *yasa ram no palsko t[ā]kañc* 'if thy thought is like gold' (7b1); *ararc po ṣa(r)m(a)n(a)* 'all causes have ceased for thee' (45a1); *[ś]au[l] ka oräñc tā kektseño* 'scarcely will your life have left this body' (46a8); *pw alecci cai tākañco* 'they will all become strangers to you' (46a8). The variant *-ś* occurs in Sp. 47 *kärtstsomñenta po yātoye(ṃ)ś* 'all good works may succeed for you.'

Sg. 3 *-ne*: [*ka*]*lymiś akenne* 'they bring it to the goal' (3a4); *akṣāne* 'related to him' (1b7, 5a6, 18a1, etc., often); *mā nw ayune* 'if however I should not give to him' (25a7); *mā arsenne* 'they do not leave him' (11b5); *äkläśtärne* 'he teaches him' (26a1); *kakātene* 'summoned him' (22a5); very frequent.—Dat. *-neś*: *ñakti arjuṃstām nemarneś* 'the gods bent an Arjuna-tree toward him' (Sp. 39); *weskeṃneś* 'they say to him' (Sp. 27); *wñāne*[*ś*] (*po*)*yśi* 'the Omniscient said to him' (5a4-5); *wñāneś pu*[*d*]*ñ*(*äkte*) 'Buddha said to him' (7b6; etc., often); *weñāreneś* 'they said to him' (Sp. 14); *śemneś* 'came to him' (49a7, 63a1).

Pl. 1, 2, 3 *-me*. Pl. 1: (*p*)*karsa*(*r*)*m*(*e*) 'let us know about them' (16b2); *srūkalñe ekñi starme* 'death is for us the (only) possession' (12b4); *weñāre aṣañika rerinu starme* 'they said: O honorable one, it has been left by us' (Sp. 50).—Pl. 2: *aksaskaume pelai*[*k*]*n*(*e*) 'I relate the law to you' (45a4); *mā kätkoytärme* 'it may not be passed over by you' (11a4); *mā wa cämpaume śale* 'I cannot yet (go) with you' (46b5); *tu postäṃ onmiṃ tākaṃme* 'thereafter will regret be yours' (29a8); *kwri yarke peti ṣeyme kurpelle* 'if you should have worried yourself about honor (and) flattery' (33a7); *se nomiyeṣṣe bhājaṃ rerinu starme* 'this jewel-bowl, has it been left by you?' (Sp. 49).—Pl. 3: *akṣāwame* 'I related to them' (23a1); *akṣāme* 'he related to them' (3a7, 3b4, 12b6, etc., often); *arāme* 'ceased for them' (4b8, 25a5); *aśanme* 'leads them (the cows)' (3a3); *enṣṣateme* 'he taught them' (12b3); etc., very common.

§ 63. Reflexive Pronouns. The genitive reflexive is *ṣañ* (*ṣäñ*) used as an indeclinable adjective (cf. *tañ, wesäñ, yesäñ*), indifferent not only to number and gender but also to person.

Sg. 1: *mā ñi kca ṣañ śāmna waste* 'never (were) for me my own people a protection' (64a1); 2: *mant ṣañ śāmna keś ptes tw*[*e*] 'so reckon thou thy kinsmen' (46a7); 3: (*kāka*) *ṣañ akalṣlyeṃ* 'he (Buddha) called his pupils' (12a5); *mahākāśyape ṣañ kreṃnt spārtalyñesa* 'M. (is) at his good practice' (ibid.);—[*mā*]*cer postaññe ṣäñ se* 'even the mother, her own son' (36b8); pl. 1: *wñār-ālyaiko wes no tāu kawa*[*m*] *ṣañ ṣar*(*sa*) 'others said: we however killed her with our own hand' (16b4); 3: *ṣañ ka kātsa lkāntär* 'only at their own belly do they look' (31a2).

The reflexive pronoun itself is furnished by the oblique and secondary cases of *ăñme* 'soul, spirit, self' (= Skt. *ātman-*) in con-

junction with the gen. reflexive *ṣañ* (cf. above), and, like the latter, it is used without regard for gender, person, or number. Attested are the obl. *ṣañ añm* (*añmo*), and the inst. *ṣañ añmtsa*(?).

Obl.: *wnolmi tallāñco n(ā)ksante ṣañ añm* 'the unhappy creatures vitiated themselves' (17a6 = 15a5); *m[ā] su nt-ālyekäśco ṣañ añm pällātär* 'no one praises himself before another' (64a5); *ṣañ añm pläṅsemar* 'I sell myself' (64a6); etc.; inst.: (*mäkte*) *rano prere su prākre ṣañ añ[mtsa]* (*yāmu*) 'as also the arrow made fast by himself' (11a7).

Without *ṣañ*, *ăñme* seems to be used only as a substantive, never as a pronoun.

§ 64. The emphatic reflexive pronoun 'self' in the sense of Skt. *svayam*, of which it is the usual translation, is *makte*. It is used for all three persons indifferently.

	Singular		Plural	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
Nom.	*makte*	*mäkciya*	*makci, mäkcik*	*mäktona*
Obl.	*makce*			
Gen.	*mäkcepi*			

Of these only the nom. sing. and plural masc. forms are attested in our texts. Nom. sing.: *makte sakna kamāte* 'he himself wore rags' (12b3); *makte kakāte ṣuk kauṃ poyśiṃ sāṅkämpa* 'he himself for seven days invited the Omniscient with the community' (22a7); *mäktā^{u} ytārisa makte śätkāwa cmelṣe samudtär* 'by which way I myself passed over the ocean of birth' (29a7); *makte ksa rintär waipecc-ekñenta* '(if) one oneself (= of one's own accord) should give up possessions (and) property' (33a5). Nom. plural: *yāmornta wnolmi makci yamantär mäkcik tuntse okw empelye wärpānantär* 'if the creatures themselves (= of their own accord) should do the deeds, they themselves will enjoy the terrible fruit thereof' (17a5 = 15a4); *memyas makci ono(l)m[eṃ] poyknesa* 'ye yourselves deceived the creatures in every fashion' (28a7); *ost olypo ṣaicer makci lamalyi* 'rather ye should have yourselves remained in the house' (33a7).

§ 65. Relative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns. The usual interrogative and relative for all genders and numbers is: Nom. *k^{u}se*, obl. *k^{u}ce*, gen. *kete, ket*. Of the secondary cases the com. *k^{u}cempa* occurs in our texts. These forms serve apparently without

distinction both for the definite and indefinite relative. As interrogatives they may, of course, also introduce indirect questions.

(1) Relative. Nom.: (*mā*) *sū nesäṃ kᵘse onwañ̈ñe tākoy* 'that one does not exist who may be immortal' (2a2), *cai* [*pe*]*rneñco kᵘse tsälpoṣo kärkkāllemeṃ yśelmeṣṣe* 'these worthy (persons) who (have) been freed from the pond of lust' (8a4), *kᵘse no nakṣalye wnolme pällāträ, cen ra* [*na*]*kṣtär kᵘse pä*(*llālyi*) 'whoever indeed praises a blameworthy creature, blames also those who (are) praiseworthy' (16a6); *kᵘse ñi yesñ-āksaṣle kᵘse wat no enäṣly*(*e*) *tu pw-ā*[*kṣ*]*ā*(*wame*) 'whatever (was) to be announced to you by me, or whatever was to be taught, all that did I announce (to you) (27b7). Obl.: *kᵘce cai makci eṅkoṣ ṣeṃ pilkonta* 'the views (= *pilkonta*) which they themselves have conceived' (28b6); *ṣañ kartse kᵘce yāmṣate tu wnolmi keklyauṣoṣ ṣeyeṃ* 'his own good which he had performed, (of) that (= *tu*) have the creatures heard' (30b2); *kᵘce śerwe śak kauṃ lwāsa kautsi nauṣ mā campi, tu ////* 'whatever animals the hunter in ten days could not kill, those (lit. that) . . .' (44a2). Gen.: *kete pkante yām*[*y*]*eṃ kal*(*l*)*au*(*n*)*e* [*c*]*ai cets sañi* 'these (are) their enemies (= *sañi*) whose hindrance (= *pkante*) they must make in the acquisition (= *kallaune*) . . .' (31b7-8); *ñäkcye śaiṣṣene ket cmetsi āñme tākoy tne pelaiknentane śtwāra toṃ ākli yamītär* 'of whom there is the desire to be born in the divine world, let him exercise himself in the four precepts' (23a4); *ket yarke petiś rmamñe tsäṅkau tne päklautkäṣṣat . . .* '(ye), of whom the tendency toward honor (and) flattery (has) arisen, turn away (imperative) . . .' (33b6). Com.: *kᵘcempa sū wṣīya* 'with whom he was lying' (44b3).

(2) Interrogative. Nom. *kᵘse ste perāk* 'what is faith?' (23a5); (indirect question) *kᵘse wat śaulo posa olypo* 'or what (is) the best life of all' (24b5). No certain examples of the obl. or the gen. occur.

(3) As indefinite pronouns (except in relative function, cf. above) we find the weakened nom. *ksa*, obl. *kca* 'one, any, a certain, someone, everyone,' especially with negative 'no one, none.' The gen. is *ket ra* however with the enclitic particle *ra* 'also.' Nom.: *mā tne sāṃ*(*k*) *ksa tot nesäṃ* 'not here is any community (of monks)' (12b5); (*o*)*lypo ṣañ ṣarsa kautoy ksa pat ceᵘ* 'rather one should strike to pieces that stupa with his own hand' (17b6); *śakkets soy ṣ*[*ai*] *ksa hastake ñem* '(there) was a son of the Śākyas,

Hastaka by name' (19a3); etc. Obl.: *śateñ wnolmi cai mā śaiṣṣe kca ynāñm [y]ā(m)[o]ṣ* 'these rich creatures (have) honored no people' (*śaiṣṣe* = *lokam*) (24a3); (*mā*) *ñiś caukamai k[c]a mā ra walāmai kca* 'I neither concealed anything nor hid anything' (27b8); *mā ñi kca ṣañ śāmna waste* 'not to me were my people any refuge' (64a1). Gen.: *kᵘceknesa ket ra (kärtse yāmṣa)t(e) śakk(e)ññe rṣāke* 'in what fashion for everyone did the sage of the Śākyas do good' (30b2); *po ono(lmeṃ täṅwa)ññ(e)ñca ket ra santāṃne* 'loving all creatures for each in the series of his birth' (30b4); *taiknesa ket ra kartseś* 'in this wise for the good of everyone' (30b8); *sklok ket ra nai mā tsäṅkau* 'of no one indeed did a doubt arise' (46b2); etc.

Particularly common is the use of *ksa* and *kca* with other pronouns to give indefinitizing force, especially with *alyek, allek* 'other'; e. g. *allek no ksa arhānte* 'but another one, an Arhat' (4a7); *śaumo ksallekomt* (= *ksa allek komt*) *tsoṅkaik tsaṅkoy* 'let some other person arise daily in the morning' (19b6); *wnolmalleksa* = *wnolme allek ksa* 'some other creature' (42b4); *mā ñiś kc-ālyek [t]ot nrai lkāsk[au] wrocce* 'I do not see any other Hell so great' (17a6). With other pronominal forms. Nom.: *āṃtpi ksa ṣp [mā]-läṃ mäskentär* 'and both are not different' (28b3); *(k)ᵘ(se) parśine ksa* 'whoever might ask him' (28b4); *mā wa nnai sāᵘ tne nesäṃ ytārye ksa* 'there is not yet here any (*sāᵘ ksa*) way' (30a2); *se sampä ksa pautoy ñäś* 'this (or) that particular (= *ksa*) one might flatter me' (33b3); *mā su ksa l(i)pa* 'no one was left' (46b5); etc. Obl.: *ce compä kca ṣarmtsa* 'for this (or) that particular (= *kca*) cause' (31b2; cf. nom. at 33b3, cited above).

The same indefinitizing use is found in conjunction with adverbs and conjunctions, especially those derived from pronominal stems: *kos śaiṃ ksa* 'however many may live' (3b5); *tu ñiś tane cek wärñai kca [au]ltsorsa ka ṣärpaume* 'that I here in some fashion or another shall show to you' (33b6; cf. Gloss. s. v. *cek wärñai*); *totka kca* 'however little (?)' (43a1); *(a)lanmeṃ kca* 'from somewhere else' (50a7); etc.

§ 66. A second relative and interrogative pronoun is *mäksu*. The forms attested according to our glossary are the following:

	Singular		Plural	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
Nom.	*mäksŭ*	*mäksā^{u}*	*mäkcai*	*mäktoṃ*
Obl.	*mäkce^{u}*	*mäktā^{u}*		
Gen.	*mäkcwi*			
Inst.	*mäkcewsa* (L)			

Only the above nom. and obl. singular forms are found in our texts. The others are cited from elsewhere. Relative use predominates: (masc.) *mäksu wat wäntre lykaṃts kärkatsi* [*a*](*mäskai*) 'or which thing is for thieves most difficult to steal' (14b7); *lareṃnä weñi mä*[*k*]*sū re*(*ki*) //// 'a friendly (word) should one speak, which word . . .' (20b4); *mäkce^{u} preke* 'at which time' (12a6); in composition *mäkce^{u}ykeṣṣa* 'belonging to which place' (41a3); (fem.) *yt*(*ā*)*rye . . . mäktā^{u} yonmasa rṣāke* 'the road . . . which the seer reached' (29a3); *mäktā^{u} ytārisa makte śätkāwa cmelṣe samudtär* 'by which road I myself traversed the ocean of birth' (29a7). The gen. sg. of the masc. relative is quotable from Lévi, *Frag.*, p. 85 (K 2b3) *mäkcwi yāmorntse śaktalye* 'the seed of which deed' (cf. Sieg, *KZ* 65.9). The instrumental sg. masc. *mäkcewsa* occurs here also: *mäksŭ no yāmor mäkcewsa tne onolmi . . .* 'but what (is) the deed by which here creatures . . .' (K 2b4, 3a1, 3a4 and, with the difference of *intsu* for *mäksŭ*, 7b4). Otherwise, these texts do not add to our paradigm.

Interrogative: (fem. obl. sg.) *preksa ṣamāneṃ pudñäkte mäktā^{u} plācsa ṣmīcer yes* 'Buddha asked the monks: At what sort of conversation were you sitting?' (3a6). For the masc. nom. sg. *mäksŭ* in interrogative function in Lévi, *Frag.*, cf. the instrumental relative citations above.

§ 67. Yet a third relative-interrogative pronoun is *intsu*, obl. sg. *iñcau, iñcew*. None of its forms are attested in our texts, but the nom. occurs in Sp. 37 as indefinite relative: *posa śpālmeṃ rṣāke intsu ste cwi ka ṣ mant klāskem* 'whoever is the best ṛṣi, to him and just so (to him) do we bring (it).' The same form occurs several times in Lévi, *Frag.*, e. g., as interrogative at K 7b4: *intsu no yāmor mäkcewsa wnolmi . . .* 'but what (is) the deed, by which creatures . . .,' where *intsu* is used in place of the usual *mäksŭ* (cf. above). The instrumental relative *incewsa* occurs similarly at K 7b2: *. . . yāmor iñcewsa wnolmi cmentär* '. . . the

deed by which creatures may be born . . . ,' where the more usual form is *mäkcewsa* (cf. above and Sieg, *KZ* 65. 32 top), and finally the obl. *iñcew* as interrog. adj. in group inflection at K 2b1: *iñcew yāmorsa* 'by what deed?'

§ 68. The pronominal adjective *alyek* 'other' is inflected as follows:

	Singular	
	Masc.	Fem.
Nom.	*alyek, allek*	*alyāk*
Obl.	*alyek, allek*	*allok*
Gen.	*alyekepi*	
Dat.	*alyekäśco*	
Loc.	*alyekne*	
	Plural	
Nom.	*alyaik*	*alloṅk, alloṅkna*
Obl.	*alyeṅkäṃ*	*alloṅkna, alloṅna*
Gen.	*alyeṅkäṃts, alyeṅkäts, alyeṅkäṃs*	
Dat.	*alyenkäṃś*	

Contractions with preceding words are very common, either as actual crasis or elision or merely as orthographic phenomena, e. g. *kcālyek* = *kca alyek*; *nanwalyek* = *nano alyek*; *ksălyek* = *ksa alyek*; *mālyek* = *mā alyek, rālyek* = *ra alyek*; *ntālyek* = *nta alyek, ślālyek* = *śle alyek*. Several such instances will be found in the citations below.

(1) In adjectival use. Sg. masc. nom.: *śaumo ks-allek* (*k*)*omt tsoṅkaik tsaṅkoy* 'let another man arise daily early' (19b6); *tumeṃ wnolm-allek* (*k*)*sa cwi śnoy kātsane ot camel wärpāte* 'thereupon some other being enjoyed birth at once in the womb of his wife' (42b4); obl.: *alyek cmelne* 'in another birth' (14a6, similarly 16a4, 23b8, etc.); (with *kca*, cf. above § 65, end) *mā ñiś kc-ālyek* (*t*)*ot nrai lkāsk*(*au*) 'I see no other hell so great' (17a6); *nanw alyeko ślok w*[*eña*] 'again he spoke another śloka' (11a6); etc.; gen.: *mā r-ālyeke*(*p*)[*i*] (*śka*)*maiyya*[*nts-a*](*ka*)*lṣ*(*l*)*yepi* 'likewise not of another pupil of him having the ten powers' (14b2); pl. nom.: *mant alyaik käṣṣinta snai keś ṣeṃ* 'so there were other teachers without number' (28b7); etc. Sg. fem. nom.: *mālyāk tesa parna ytārye nesäṃ* 'there is not another way besides this' (28a3); obl.: *allok nano preśyaine* 'again at another time' (5b3); pl. obl.: . . . *alloṅkna re*[*t*](*k*)*e* [*i*]*yaṃ* (*yp*)*au*(*nane*) '(the kings) lead the army into other lands' (2b8); *a*(*l*)*l*(*o*)*ṅkn-ostwaśco* 'to other

houses' (23b6); *(mä)sk(e)trä cmelan-alloṅna* 'he exists in other births' (42b2).

(2) In pronominal use. Sg. masc. nom.: //// *tär mälleko* 'not another one' (21a3); *te [ks-äl(y)e]k po mā (yāmiträ)* 'all this may no one else make' (24a5); *allek no ksa arhānte* 'but another one, a certain Arhat' (4a7); etc.; gen.: *alyekepi santāṃne* 'in the successive births of another' (23a5); *mā tañ kc-āyor aille nesau mālyekepi* 'I shall not give you or another any gift' (23b 5-6), etc.; dat.: *m[ā] su nt-ālyekäśco ṣañ añm pällātär* 'not before another indeed does one praise himself' (64a5); loc.: //// *cmeln-ālyekne* 'in (this) birth (and) in the other one' (14b5, and similarly 20b3, 50a3); pl. nom.: *[a]lyaik kekmoṣ ñyātse[n]e* 'others (are) fallen in distress' (31b8 = 32b2); *wñār-ālyaiko wes . . .* 'others said: we . . .' (16b4); *tumeṃ yukseṃ ce^{u} aly(ai)k* 'then others conquer such a one' (22a4), etc.; obl.: *sw alyeṅkäṃ mīyäṣṣäṃ* 'he injures the others' (31b3); *yāmtr alyeṅkäṃ appamāt* '(if he) makes the others contemptible' (31b5); etc.; gen.: (*alyeṅkäṃts* fragmentary at 9b6 and 63b8); //// *āṃtpiś kartse ṣañ śl-ālyeṅkäts* '. . . good for both, for oneself and also for others' (20b6); //// *k^{u}(ṣ)aino alyeṅkäts* 'the villages (obl.) of others' (22a4); etc. Sg. fem. obl.: perh. //// *[a]llok no [l.]* - - - 'also another one' (16b3); all other fem. occurrences are, so far as one can determine definitely adjectival.

§ 69. In connection with *alyek* it is convenient to mention also the reciprocal *ālyauce* 'one another,' of which the inst. *ālyaucesa* and comit. *ālyaucempa* are attested in our texts.

Examples: obl.: *mā śwoṃ (ā)lyauce* 'they did not eat each other' (3b1); *ṣärpsentärne alyauce ka* 'they indicate one another' (17b1 = 15a7); etc.; inst. *t[rä]ṅkonta ṅke nakanm(a) ālyaucesa tättāntär māka* '(if) they should place sins and accusations greatly with one another,' i. e. 'if they should greatly reproach each other for . . .' (27a6); comit.: *ālyaucempa snai ynāñmñe tākaṃ* 'for each other there may be lack of respect' (27a5); etc.

In origin *ālyauce* would seem to be composed of some form of *alyek* (without the extension by *-k*) plus *wace, wce,* obl. of *wate* 'second.' Cf. Toch. *ālam wäc* in the same meaning.

§ 70. Derived also from this pronominal stem is *ālāṃ* 'differently,' or as predicate 'different': *āṃtpi ksa ṣp [mā]läṃ mäskentär*

'both are not different' (28b3). *āläṃ* itself would seem to be the basis of the adverbial ablative *alanmeṃ* 'from elsewhere,' e. g. *kälpauca śwātsi yoktsi alanmeṃ* 'getting food and drink from elsewhere' (31a2), *kallaṃ śwātsi alanmeṃ* '(if) he gets food from elsewhere' (31b2); etc. (always with some form of *kälp–* 'get').

§ 71. The pronominal adjective *antapi* 'both' is attested only in the nom.-obl. *antapi, ăntpi, āṃtpi* (*ātpi*!) and the dat. *āṃtpiś, āntpiśco* in our texts, and I am unable to find additional forms from elsewhere.

In adjectival use: obl.: *(ā)lyinesa antapi* 'with both palms' (5b5). In pronominal use: nom.: *kartse yāmor yolo yāmor āntpi mā nesteṃ* 'good deed (and) evil deed, both do not exist' (23b4), etc.; obl.: *ā(ṃ)tp(i) t[ai] lyāma arhante ////* 'the Arhat placed these two (on his knees?)' (25a1); dat. *āṃtpiś kartse ṣañ śl-ālyeṅkäts* '(it is) good for both, for oneself and likewise for others' (20b6), etc.

§ 72. The pronominal adjective *po* 'each, all, entire' is normally without inflection when in adjective function, so always in the singular, but occasionally inflected in the plural also when adjective.

Singular	
Nom.	*po*
Obl.	*po*
Gen.	*pontse*
Inst.	*posa*
Dat.	*poś*
Abl.	*pomeṃ*
Loc.	*pone*

Plural	Masc.	Fem.
Nom.	*poñc*	*ponta*
Obl	*pontäṃ, pont*	
Gen.	*pontaṃts, -tats*	
Dat.	*pontäṃśc*	

Examples of use as uninflected adjectives: Sg. nom.: *po kektseñe* 'the whole body' (8a5), *po tu* 'all that' (8b2, 18a1, etc.); obl.: *po keno* 'the whole earth' (17a4); gen.: *po śaiṣṣentse* 'of the entire world' (17b4); inst.: *po āñmtsa* 'with (their) entire self' (18b7), *po aurtsesa* 'in complete detail' (23a1), *po spelkkesa* 'with all zeal' (23a7, b2); loc.: *po proskainne po cmelane* 'in every fear

(and) in every birth' (24b8), etc.—Pl. nom.: (masc.) *po cai* 'all these' (4b8), (fem.) *po toṃ* 'all those' (3a2), *po klokaśśi* 'all the pores' (9a6); obl.: *po treṅkalwa* 'all restraints' (8a6), *po ṣkas yälloṃ* 'all six sense functions' (8b7); gen.: *po krent[au]naṃts* 'of all virtues' (12a1); inst.: *po klautkentsa* 'in all ways' (19b5); *po läklentameṃ* 'from all sufferings' (7b6); etc.

Examples as inflected adjective in the pl.: masc. obl.: *pontäṃ krästäṃ kerketse(ṃ)* 'will cut to pieces (subj. of *kärst*) all fetters' (33a3), *pontäṃ (krentäṃ ono)lmeṃ* 'all good creatures' (45b6), *pont prekeṃ* 'at all times' (41a6);—fem.: *[t]oṃ [w]än[t]arwa pon[ta]* 'all such things' (45b8); *ponta [śau](lanma)* 'all lives' (47a3).

Of the inflected forms given in the paradigm above, only the sg. instr. (in comparatives) and loc. and the pl. fem. nom. and gen. are quotable from our texts in pronominal use. The rest are cited in the glossary from elsewhere. Examples: sg. inst.: *posamāskai* 'most difficult of all' (14b8), *śaulo posa olypo* 'the best life of all' (24b5); loc.: *p[o]ne tot[k]a o[k]ta ////* 'for each a little eight . . .' (36b5); *pone ñiś temtsamai pone srukā(wa)* 'I was born at each (place?) and died at each' (64b2);—pl. f.: *(klo)yonträ no ponta* 'likewise they all fall' (1b3 = 2a8); gen.: *srūka(lñe āke) p[o]ntaṃts* 'death is the end of all' (3a3), *ponta(ts) ////* (22a8).